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ART. I.—MARCELLA.

Marcella. By MRS. HUMPHRY WARD. In Three Vols. London :
Smith, Elder & Co. 1894.

IT is not surprising that Mrs. Humphry Ward should have chosen as the theme of her latest novel the social problems of the day. She is not one of those who believe in "art for art's sake," or even literature for literature's sake. Some modern critics would have us go into raptures over the work of a craftsman who shows his skill by carving a man's face out of a cherry-stone, or painting with graphic fidelity a picture of a major operation in a hospital. The art of the novelist is with critics of this class the main consideration, and what is said is of far less importance than the way in which the speaker says it. Mrs. Ward has shown in her previous books that she is of another mind. She cares much for substance, little for form. She is most interested in the highest and deepest questions of life, and uses the novel as a means to an end. Having been concerned, in *Robert Elsmere* and *David Grieve*, with fundamental questions of theology, she naturally finds her way next to those social problems which border very closely upon the sphere of ethics and religion. No writer or thinker

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can keep clear of them for very long, and *Marcella* presents a "study" in Socialism of an interesting and instructive kind.

This is not to deny to Mrs. Ward many of the qualities of a true artist. The success of *Robert Elsmere* was not due to its very dubious merits as a sermon, or its embodiment of partially assimilated German rationalism. The book was alive. Some parts of it seemed to have been written at white heat, and the descriptions of character, scenery, and incident displayed ability which has received deserved recognition. *Marcella* shows no diminution of power in that kind. The interest of the first volume is, it is true, inadequately maintained. There is none of the freshness which made the pictures of Westmorland in the author's first story, and of Derbyshire in her second, so animated and charming. Something of the stolidity of Buckinghamshire seems to hang about the early pages, and the wilfulness and passion of *Marcella's* childhood and girlhood are not conveyed to the reader with the force and spirit which characterised the life-like descriptions of the childhood of David Grieve and his sister. But when this has been said, it will be generally conceded that *Marcella* shows in many respects an advance upon its predecessors. It is a faithful picture of certain important features of our time. The plot is slight, but the interest is well sustained, and after the first volume the action does not flag. It possesses unity and significance. Its presentation of social reformers, or would-be reformers, shows study "from the life." Very various types are depicted in Wharton, the Cravens, Edward Hallin, Bennett, Nehemiah Wilkins, and the changing phases of *Marcella's* own history. These types are carefully distinguished and a number of minor characters are sketched in to show the existence of other varieties of the same species. If *Marcella* had been published anonymously, it would have attracted attention at once by its breadth and fulness and vigour, and marked out its author, not as a genius, but as a novelist of notable strength and distinguished ability.

Such qualities, however, are not of themselves enough to account for the attention generally given to Mrs. Ward's work, or our discussion of it here. It is easy enough to criticise these stories as literature. They are diffuse, laboured, some-

times heavy. The canvas is crowded, and the picture is often very flat. Lightness of touch, the sureness of hand which enables an artist to accomplish much with very few strokes is not a feature of Mrs. Ward's style. It is very largely the interest of the subject which gives interest to *Marcella* as a book. The author has something to say, she is not merely anxious to say something, no matter what, in a style which shall attract attention and admiration. Here lies, at all events, our own interest in a story which, taken merely as a story, hardly ranks above the average run of better-class novels. The writer has looked round upon the life of our generation with a discerning eye, she has described certain features of it with a sufficiently skilful hand, and in and beyond all this she has, as she believes, a message to give in relation to those deep-seated problems of social life upon which it is so easy to declaim, so difficult to shed any clear, directing light. We make no apology for treating the book from the point of view from which we conceive the author would chiefly desire it to be judged, and from the side with which this REVIEW at least is chiefly concerned. How does Mrs. Humphry Ward, according to the light that is in her after a careful study of the subject, regard the social problems of our time, and how far is she a wise and competent guide in so perplexing a labyrinth?

The story may soon be told. *Marcella Boyce* is a beautiful, high-spirited girl, whose childhood and youth were rendered unhappy by the circumstances of her parentage. Upon the father's character rests a stain of dishonourable conduct, and her mother is peculiar and unsympathetic. In early womanhood, while an art-student in London, she becomes an ardent Socialist, and appears upon the scene at Mellor, her ancestral home, glowing with sympathy for the poor and teeming with hopes and schemes for the reconstruction of society. Aldous Raeburn, heir of one of the most noble and ancient families in the country, falls in love with her, and *Marcella*, without relinquishing any of her social sympathies or advanced political opinions, finds herself the affianced bride of an aristocratic representative of all the established interests of a highly organised and naturally conservative social circle. Raeburn, however, is no mere Tory squire or lordling. He is a thoughtful,

high-minded English gentleman, a student of men and things, as well as of books, conscientiously desirous to perform all the duties of a high position, and use wealth, education, and influence for the benefit of his tenants and his country. Marcella interests herself in the welfare of the villagers, and finds in Mellor the poverty, misery, and squalor, which, alas! may be found without searching very far alike in the country villages and the populous towns of England. She is full of hot-headed and unrelenting indignation against the existing state of things. She does not stop to discriminate between things that differ, to trace out misery to its very various sources, to inquire how much of it is due to remediable conditions, and how much requires a much deeper and more searching treatment. She condemns, sweepingly and unsparingly, all who are not prepared to go with her in her revolutionary projects for reconstituting society on a better basis.

Within a short distance of her wedding-day there comes a crisis. Marcella is brought under the influence of George Wharton, Radical candidate for the division of the county in which her home lies. He is a brilliant, plausible speaker, a man of loose personal character, but possessing some of the attractions of genius and all the attraction of one who bids fair to be the leader of an influential Labour party in the House of Commons. Marcella is fascinated by him, and the fatal result of a poaching affray, in which one of Marcella's special protégés murders a keeper, rouses her to the utmost, provokes a quarrel with Raeburn, and enables Wharton to pose as her true friend and the representative of the interests she has most at heart. After a bitter inward conflict, she throws over her lover and all her social prospects, and casts in her lot, as she thinks, with the oppressed and defenceless poor. But she enters upon a schooling of another kind. For some time she labours in the work of a nursing sisterhood in London and obtains a much more intimate and accurate knowledge of the life of the poor, their real difficulties, sorrows, and needs. Meanwhile Wharton is pursuing his political career; and, whilst attaining a large measure of success as an advanced Radical of Socialistic type, begins to reveal more of his true character. Marcella's views undergo a gradual but decided change, she

learns the lessons of life in a new fashion, sees through the specious plausibilities of doctrinaire Socialism, and being brought once more into relation with Raeburn, finds an opportunity, which she is not slow to use, of redeeming past errors and correcting past mistakes. In her position as prospective Lady Maxwell at the end of the book, she appears as a ripe and disciplined woman, far advanced beyond the crudities of character and opinion which marked Marcella Boyce at its beginning, and fully prepared to take her part wisely and well in helping the needy, strengthening the weak, improving the conditions of labour, discharging the trusts and responsibilities of wealth, and fulfilling the claims of the complex life that lies before her.

Such is the barest possible outline of a story which is by no means bare, but rich and full of interest, in Mrs. Ward's way of telling it. We have reduced the outline to its simplest elements to show how the author unfolds her theme. We can hardly be wrong in interpreting the history. The education of a brilliant and fascinating girl in the true meaning of the social problems of life tells its own story. In Edward Hallin's teaching, especially towards the close of his life, and in Marcella's views after she had passed the *Sturm und Drang* period and come forth from the sanctuary of sorrow, we shall find what Mrs. Ward thinks it most desirable to teach.

We begin with the picture of Marcella as she enters upon active life. She is a beauty, of the Italian type, with "noble, freely-poised, suggestive head," black wavy hair, a "face of the Renaissance, and extraordinarily beautiful in colour and expression: imperfect in line, as the beauty which marks the meeting-point between antique perfection and modern character must always be." The description of her thoughts and feelings at this time must be given more fully; in parts it would stand as a description of thousands of educated young men and young women between twenty and thirty to-day. We must remember it is part of a letter from her lover to his friend Hallin.

"She may be twenty, or rather more. The mind has all sorts of ability; comes to the right conclusion by a divine instinct, ignoring the how and why. Yet she has evidently read a good deal—much

poetry, some scattered political economy, some modern socialistic books, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, Carlyle. She takes everything dramatically, imaginatively, goes straight from it to life, and back again. Among the young people with whom she made acquaintance while she was boarding in London and working at South Kensington, there seem to have been two brothers, both artists and both Socialists; ardent young fellows, giving all their spare time to good works, who must have influenced her a great deal. She is full of angers and revolts, which you would delight in. And first of all, she is applying herself to her father's wretched village, which will keep her hands full. A large and passionate humanity plays about her. What she says often seems to me foolish—in the ear; but the inner sense, the heart of it, command me" (i. 111, 112).

Her opinions at this early stage may soon be described. She is a member of the "Venturist"—we presume the Fabian—Society, and has been trained in the maxims of the Socialist school. She will not be called a Radical; "We Socialists don't fight for either political party as such. We take what we can get out of both." Lord Maxwell asks her whether she is not a Socialist "in conscience but not in judgment—the condition of most of us."

"'No, not at all!' she exclaimed, both her vanity and her enthusiasm roused by his manner. 'Both my judgment and my conscience make me a Socialist. It's only one's wretched love for one's own little luxuries and precedences—the worst part of one—that makes me waver, makes me a traitor! The people I worked with in London would think me a traitor often, I know.' 'And you really think that the world ought to be hatched over again and hatched different? That it ought to be, if it could be?' 'I think that things are intolerable as they are,' she broke out after a pause. 'The London poor were bad enough; the country poor seem to me worse! How can any one believe that such serfdom and poverty, such mutilation of mind and body, were meant to go on for ever?'" (i. 189, 190).

In a word, hers is the mood of revolt, a mood common enough in those who study some phases of modern civilisation. The picture has been drawn often enough: "starvation wages; hardships of sickness and pain; horrors of birth and horrors of death; wholesale losses of kindred and friends; the meanest surroundings; the most sordid cares. Yet here in this autumn twilight they laughed and chattered and joked—weird, wrinkled children, enjoying an hour's rough play in a clearing of the storm! Dependent from birth to death on squire,

parson, parish; crushed often, and ill-treated, according to their own ideas, but bearing so little ill-will; amusing themselves with their own tragedies even, if they could but sit by a fire and drink a neighbour's cup of tea. Her heart swelled and burned within her." And well it might. Such generous swellings of indignation are the fount and source of beneficent streams, such fiery inward heats are the beginnings or searching, purifying flames, which leave both the heart within and the world without the clearer and the brighter for their burning.

But the first lesson of all to learn is that it is much easier to feel indignation than to devise a remedy. All thoughtful men with hearts in their breasts are Socialists up to the point of *feeling*, often sorely, and even passionately, the sense of something deeply wrong in the social order of modern civilisation.

"When I go down from our house to the village; when I see the places the people live in; when one is comfortable in the carriage, and passes some woman in the rain, ragged and dirty and tired, trudging back from her work; when one realises that they have no *rights* when they come to be old, nothing to look to but charity, for which we, who have everything, expect them to be grateful; and when I know that every one of them has done more useful work in a year of their life than I shall ever do in the whole of mine, then I feel that the whole state of things is somehow wrong and topsy-turvy, and wicked.' Her voice rose a little, every emphasis grew more passionate. 'And if I don't do something—the little such a person as I can—to alter it before I die, I might as well never have lived'" (i. 192).

That is only the statement of the problem. The intensity of feeling which marks the noblest natures when brought face to face with these burning questions is a great motive power, but it furnishes little or no directing power. These sympathies warm, but do not illumine. Their fumes may even for a time blind the eyes and confuse the judgment, as Marcella found when, in the midst of her consuming zeal for the poachers in Mellor and the villagers generally, she was confronted by the considerate, kindly, but quite conservative plans of good landlords like the Maxwell family. She had no patience with "tinkering." The sores required a drastic remedy. She had been watching with pain the long, unending, and often fruitless

struggle of the poor for nothing but a little food, scanty clothing, and bare existence, and it seemed to her "something brutally gratuitous, a piece of careless and tyrannous cruelty on the part of Nature—or God." The Maxwells were faring sumptuously every hour, yet refused to give the only help worth having in healing these cruel running sores. The kind of remedy which at that period seemed full of hope was that which was sketched out by Wharton in his speeches as a candidate in the county constituency. The axe must be laid to the root of the trees. Marcella sympathised and applauded when he tried to rouse passionate discontent in the minds of the stolid country yokels who attended his meetings, "grumbling and starving and cringing," and unwilling to "spare twopence halfpenny a week from boosing to subscribe to a union, and take the first step towards freedom." His programme was:

"The regular Socialist programme, as it affects the country districts—the transference of authority within the villages from the few to the many, the landlords taxed more and more heavily during the transition time for the provision of house-room, water, light, education, and amusement for the labourer; and ultimately land and capital at the free disposal of the State, to be supplied to the worker on demand at the most moderate terms, while the annexed rent and interest of the capitalist class relieves him of taxes, and the disappearance of squire, State parson, and plutocrat leaves him master in his own house, the slave of no man, the equal of all. And, as a first step towards this new Jerusalem—*organisation*!—self-sacrifice enough to form and maintain a union, to vote for Radical and Socialist candidates in the teeth of people who have coals and blankets to give away" (ii. 46).

The bitterness of rebellion is described at length in connection with the painful scenes of the Hurd trial and execution. Hurd is a villager who has been driven by poverty into poaching, and continues it for love of the sport. He has a long-standing feud with a keeper, and at last kills him in a night affray. There is little doubt that he is guilty of murder, and he is condemned accordingly, but Marcella is able to see only the miserable conditions of life which to her seem the origin and cause of all the mischief, and she is fiercely indignant against even the clergyman who tries to comfort the wretched family. Doubtless he did his best. "For centuries on centuries his

brethren and forerunners had held up the Man of Sorrows before the anguished and the dying; his turn had come, his moment and place in the marvellous, never-ending task; he accepted it with the meek ardour of an undoubting faith." But such consolation seemed to her a mockery.

"Marcella alone sat erect, her whole being one passionate protest against a faith which could thus heap all the crimes and responsibilities of this too real earth on the shadowy head of one far-off Redeemer. This very man who prays, she thought, is in some sort an accomplice of those who, after tempting, are now destroying and killing, because they know of nothing better to do with the life they themselves have made an outcast" (ii. 228).

Here is the depth of Marcella's despair, and the description is a faithful picture of the fierce wrath of many noble spirits of the present generation, who are so deeply moved to protest in behalf of the poor, the ignorant, the outcast, the wicked, that they will listen to no proposals for amelioration of the existing order, no teaching of religion inculcating patience and the triumph of the spirit over the flesh; they will listen to nothing which spares society, the very constitution of which they hold to be rotten and evil. Nothing but revolution will avail. Those who have drunk of these fiery drams of raw spirit find all other beverages mild and tame in comparison. Men have patched and tinkered long enough; it is time now to pull down the edifice and rebuild from the foundation.

Are they right? It is not enough to answer, No. Those who think these current schemes for social reconstruction are as impossible as they are undesirable, that they would break down by their own weight, and cause more misery than they would cure, must not be satisfied with a bare negative answer. These are counsels of despair, and cannot be ended by an argumentative proof of their impracticability. Marcella takes up with them, because she sees nothing else. Those who think that such schemes are not only mistaken but mischievous do little good by meeting them with mere refutation and rejection. The religious man who resents Marcella's attitude towards religion at this stage is bound to say what remedy he proposes to provide for the miseries which were agonising her inmost soul. This particular Good Samaritan may not be very wise;

he may even inflame the wounds of the suffering victim, but it will not help the case in any way for priest and scribe to pass by on the other side.

Mrs. Humphry Ward shows that she is no mere lady-novelist toying with a popular subject, but a woman of sympathetic insight, by her way of bringing Marcella to a better mind. The turning-point in her history is the period she spends as a nursing sister in London. Here she is brought into contact with the poor in another fashion. She approaches them differently and understands them better, partly because she herself has passed through the furnace of sorrow, and has begun to learn its meaning. Her theories are not so much refuted as dissolved; they fall away from her when she faces life differently. She is brought into contact not only with Wharton, but with a little group of politicians, of whom Bennett, the Wesleyan local preacher, is a favourable specimen. She sees what these pet schemes become when they are taken into the "horrible tangle" of political life. She finds out that Socialism has its cant, as well as religion, and that "politics" is mostly cant. She tries (mentally) the new theories, applying them to her new experience, and finds that, however scientifically cut, as dresses they will not fit. Formerly she had looked *at* Socialism, now she sees *into* it, and that is next door to seeing *through* it.

The history of her dis-illusionising we must not stay to trace. But it is necessary to point out the connection between Marcella's gradual emancipation from Socialistic fallacies and the change which takes place in the views of Edward Hallin, who may be supposed to correspond to the "Grey" of *Robert Elsmere*, and whose character and career are traced out in the book with sympathy and beauty. Hallin had been the idol of working men's meetings and a leading spirit in the councils of social reformers. But when a young London economist of ability published a book called *To-morrow and the Land*, proposing an elaborate scheme for land nationalisation, in a taking style and supported by plausible arguments, it met with sudden and immense success, and Hallin felt it to be his duty to try to stem the tide. He was opposed by the deepest moral and intellectual convictions to the teaching of the book,

and in his lectures, eagerly attended by thousands, he sought to combat its specious and dangerous errors. Immediately his influence began to leave him. He was received coldly, misunderstood and misrepresented, and the man who had worn out the best of his strength in the service of the oppressed saw "before him perpetually thousands of hostile faces, living in a nightmare of lost sympathies and broken friendships." The position taken up by Hallin at this time of developing alienation between himself and his artisan friends must be described more at length in Mrs. Ward's own words, because in them lies the key to her whole position.

"Since he had begun his lecturing and propagandist life, Socialist ideas of all kinds had made great way in England. And on the whole, as the prevailing type of them grew stronger, Hallin's sympathy with them had grown weaker and weaker. Property to him meant 'self-realisation'; and the abuse of property was no more just ground for a crusade which logically aimed at doing away with it, than the abuse of other human powers or instincts would make it reasonable to try to do away with—say love, or religion. To give property and therewith the fuller human opportunity, to those that have none, was the inmost desire of his life. How is it to be done? Hallin, like many others, would have answered 'For England—mainly by a fresh distribution of the land. Not, of course, by violence—which only means the worst form of waste known to history—but by the continuous pressure of an emancipating legislation, relieving land from shackles long since struck off other kinds of property—by the assertion, within a certain limited range, of communal initiative and control—and above all by the continuous private effort in all sorts of ways and spheres of "men of goodwill." For all sweeping uniform schemes he had the natural contempt of the student, or the moralist. To imagine that by nationalising sixty annual millions of rent, for instance, you could make England a city of God was not only a vain dream, but a belittling of England's history and England's task. A nation is not saved so cheaply! And to see those energies turned to land nationalisation or the scheming of a collectivist millennium, which might have gone to the housing, educating, and refining of English men, women, and children of to-day, to moralising the employer's view of his profit, and the landlord's conception of his estate—filled him with a growing despair" (iii. 108, 109).

Marcella gradually reaches this higher wisdom. Her own experience, rather than Hallin's teaching, brings her to it. She perceives the futility of "schemes" as such. She turns upon Wharton on one occasion: "A compulsory Eight Hours'

Day for all men in all trades! You *know* you won't get it! And all the other big exasperating things you talk about, public organisation of labour and all the rest, you won't get them till the world is a New Jerusalem—and when the world is a New Jerusalem nobody will want them!" There is something very tempting about such schemes, some of them at least. Short cuts are always attractive, and generally deceptive. But in the work of social reform they may be fatal. In this particular case they will work fatal mischief as long as men trust to them, because they are trying to do moral and spiritual work by mechanical means. Not that "conditions," "surroundings," "environment" are unimportant. But these must be kept in their own place, and to expect either individual or social salvation through improvement in these alone is to expect to make a family of filthy habits clean by giving them a new house to live in. The time when Marcella comes to see this is the epoch in her life.

"No! so far as Socialism means a political system, the trampling out of private enterprise and competition and all the rest of it, I find myself slipping away from it more and more. No! as I go about among these wage-earners, the emphasis, do what I will, comes to lie less and less on possession, more and more on character. I go to two tenements in the same building. One is Hell, the other Heaven. Why? Both belong to well-paid artisans with equal opportunities. Both, so far as I can see, might have a decent and pleasant life of it. But one is a man; the other, with all his belongings, will soon be a vagabond. That is not all, I know—oh! don't trouble to tell me so!—but it is more than I thought" (iii. 39, 40).

That is the question: Where to lay the emphasis? Every sensible man knows the importance in life both of character and circumstances; but which is he accustomed to emphasise? The Socialist is wrong, not for discerning evils and denouncing them unsparingly; not for desiring a radical cure; not for turning his attention to the problems of production and distribution of wealth as immensely important; but because he lays the chief stress upon circumstances, and ignores, or slights, the fundamental element of character. This fatal defect mars the Socialist schemes in two ways. It makes them impossible, because, so long as man is what he is, the new edifice of society could not be constructed; it makes them undesirable, because

if the new order could by some magic stroke be created, it could not accomplish the work of renewing its members. Does it therefore follow that social institutions are of little or no importance, that social reformers are a mere nuisance, and that the prophet's vision of a new earth as well as a new heaven is a dream? By no means. But let the emphasis be rightly placed, if the answer to the riddle is to be understood. It reads quite differently, according to whether we say, Expect world-renewal through renewal of character framed in appropriate and harmonious conditions; or, Expect world-renewal through the renewal of conditions framing and shaping character to correspond. The would-be social reformer has many things to bear in mind; but he will never succeed, unless he views his task as in the main a spiritual one. The first thing he must look to is character; and the last is character. What comes between will right itself. The greatest Social Reformer who ever lived, the only always wise and true Reformer, said, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

The scene at Hallin's death-bed is full of interest to the reader of the story, who is probably thinking most about Marcella's relations to Aldous Raeburn. But it is important to those who are seeking the clue to the author's views. We quote a portion of it, it is easy to see why.

"His face was full of a mystical joy, a living faith, which must somehow communicate itself in one last sacramental effort. . . . 'One more testimony let me bear—the last. We disappear, one by one, into the dark, but each may throw his comrades a token before he goes. You have been in much trouble of mind and spirit, I have seen it. Take my poor witness. There is one clue, one only—*goodness, the surrendered will*. Everything is there, all faith, all religion, all hope for rich or poor. Whether we feel our way through consciously to the Will, that asks our will, matters little. Aldous and I have differed much on this, in words, never at heart! I could use words, symbols he cannot—and they have given me peace. But half my best life I owe to him.'

"At this he made a long pause; but still, through that weak grasp, refusing to let her go, till all was said. Day was almost gone; the stars had come out over the purple dusk of the park.

"'That Will we reach through duty and pain,' he whispered at last, so faintly she could hardly hear him, 'is the root, the source. It leads us in living, it carries us in death. But our weakness and

vagueness want help—want the human life and voice—to lean on, to drink from. We Christians are orphans—without Christ! There, again, what does it matter what we think *about* Him, if only we think *of* Him. In *one* such life are all mysteries, and all knowledge—and our fathers have chosen for us——’ The insistent voice sank lower and lower into final silence, though the lips still moved” (iii. 288, 289).

The practical effect of this characteristic teaching is found in Marcella’s resolutions when she comes into her own property, and when, as the betrothed wife of Raeburn, now Lord Maxwell, she contemplates a position of still greater wealth and influence. She has learned that property is a trust; the greater the possession, the greater the responsibility. But she does not anticipate the “big collectivist changes,” which may come, with hope or pleasure. She prays not to see them. “Meanwhile, all still hangs upon, comes back to the individual. Here are you with your money and power; there are those men and women whom you can share with, in new and honourable ways—*to-day*.” She holds that all on the Mellor estate had contributed in some way to the house for generations. She is resolved that it shall be their possession and pride as well as hers. But not by a meaningless partition, which would destroy the very possession that should be enjoyed in common. Her standards had become spiritualised. “She had come to know what happiness and affection are possible in three rooms, or two, on twenty-eight shillings a week; and, on the other hand, her knowledge of Aldous had shown her how wealth may be a true moral burden and test, the source of half the difficulties and pains, of half the nobleness also, of a man’s life. Not in mere wealth and poverty, she thought, but in things of quite another order, things of social sympathy and relation, alterable at every turn, even under existing conditions, by the human will, lie the real barriers that divide us man from man.”

These are wise, and may be very helpful words. But taken by themselves, they do not contain any secret of moral regeneration. Marcella had learned her lesson. Well for her that she had seen the error of attaching so much importance to wealth and birth, as in her earlier days she manifested by the very attacks she made upon them. Well for her that

she had come to see that not in denouncing and subdividing property are its true uses to be found, but in administering it as a trust, all for the good of each. Well for her that she had learned the futility of schemes, panaceas, short cuts and royal roads. But on what basis is this philosophy of life founded? How is it to be reasoned out, and how are others to be persuaded of its truth? Mrs. Humphry Ward might well reply that that is not the novelist's business, that she describes in the concrete what she is not called upon to justify by abstract reasoning. But Mrs. Ward is not one to shirk a difficulty, and as she has already allowed herself scope in her novel to show the weakness of Socialist ideas and projects, she is just enough and brave enough to give, though only in brief, her own line of solution of a difficult problem. It is given in Hallin's words, almost at the very end of the book, and will fittingly form our last extract from it.

"There is one conclusion, one cry, I always came back to at last, she remembered hearing Hallin say to a young Conservative, with whom he had been having a long economic and social argument. *Never resign yourself!* that seems to be the main note of it. Say if you will, believe if you will, that human nature, being what it is, and what so far as we can see it always must be, the motives which work the present social and industrial system can never be largely superseded; that property and saving—luck, too!—struggle, success and failure, must go on. That is one's intellectual conclusion; and one has a right to it; you and I are at one in it. But then, on the heels of it, comes the moral imperative! Hold what you please about systems and movements, and fight for what you hold; only, as an individual, *never say, never think!* that it is in the order of things, in the purpose of God, that one of these little ones, this Board School child, this man honestly out of work, this woman sweated out of her life, should perish! A contradiction, or a common-place, you say? Well and good. The only truths that burn themselves into the conscience, that work themselves out through the slow and manifold processes of the personal will into a pattern of social improvement, are the contradictions and the common-places!" (iii. 368).

Here we leave, and yet are unwilling to leave, what may be pronounced, in spite of flaws or faults, a noble book. It is necessary here to leave it, because the passage just quoted contains the author's climax. It is unsatisfactory here to leave it, because such a passage forms what must be felt to be but a lame and impotent conclusion. Contradictions and common-

places, springing out of a half-formulated Hegelian philosophy, baptized into a religion by the memory of some of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, do not form a very secure basis on which to build the complex structure of a social faith for humanity and the methods of social reform which belong to it. [Marcella — teaches several most important truths in relation to social questions and difficulties, which it would be well if this generation would lay thoroughly to heart. To distinguish between feeling and knowledge and give to emotion the things which belong to emotion, without allowing it to encroach on the domain which must be ruled by knowledge, if it is to be well ruled—that is much. To distrust mere schemes, especially schemes which regard the conditions and circumstances of man's life more than the moulding of his character—that is more. To inculcate wise and enlightened views concerning property, its acquisition and distribution, right modes of producing and right modes of using wealth—that is most important of all. But Mrs. Ward's creed, so far as it is propounded in this book, lacks basis and lacks motive power. We have already admitted that a novelist is not bound to be a philosopher, still less a system-maker. But a novelist who goes so far into these subjects as Mrs. Ward has done, is almost bound to go a little further, if she can. We believe Mrs. Ward does not desire to go further, or she would have done so. We hope and believe we are doing her no injustice in taking it for granted that on social questions *Marcella* gives the pith and substance of her creed.

On the case as thus presented, then, we would say that Mrs. Ward appears to us to have done excellent service as regards her general teaching concerning social reform, and her book will probably exercise a salutary influence on many who know or care little about *Fabian Essays*, or *Social Evolution*. But as economics needs ethics to support and to guide it, so ethics needs religion. There is a hierarchy of the sciences. No single one is independent of the rest; it is the business of each higher science at the same time to subsume and use the results of the lower. Thus are related together in an ascending scale mechanics, chemistry, biology, physiology and psychology. We might continue the list with the three just

now mentioned, economics, ethics and theology, or religion. And those who have to do with ultimate questions of human life, questions which go very near to its depths and roots, cannot do so satisfactorily without at least hinting how the answers which they give to problems in one department stand related to those which belong to the highest of all. Mrs. Humphry Ward knows that economical problems cannot be fully solved without calling in the aid of ethics, because the laws of supply and demand, of production and distribution, are to be worked, not by machines, but by human beings. She knows, we think, also, that ethical problems cannot be satisfactorily solved without the aid of religion. But here her plummet falls short. Her line is long and true, and she has fairly sounded depths in the ocean which lie beyond the reach of the mere politician, the mere economist, and the mere social reformer. But here she pauses, and we are compelled to pause with her. It is not for the reviewer of a popular novel to preach a sermon, or propound a theory of the relation between ethics and economics. We have done our part in unfolding, as far as was possible in brief compass, the substance of Mrs. Humphry Ward's teaching on social reform, and in expressing our general agreement with some of its main features.

We cannot bring ourselves, however, to leave a subject of such vast and urgent importance without briefly expressing our own opinion. Mrs. Ward has asked the question whether in determining social problems the most important element is character, or circumstances and conditions, and has decided in favour of character. We agree with her. But how is the requisite character to be formed? What is to be the fount of "altruistic sentiments"—to use the current philosophic jargon—which alone will avail to move the holders of wealth and power and influence to use them rightly and wisely for the benefit of others? Mr. Kidd, in his book on *Social Evolution*, which has deservedly attracted so much attention, has shown that religion—the Christian religion in the form we all know and recognise—has been such a beneficent fountain in the past. If men are to be taught, as we earnestly hold, that not in the abolition of property, but in its conscientious and generous use;

not in legislation and State intervention, though a measure of this may be desirable, and even needful, but in the formation of citizens, who themselves shall constitute a true and worthy State; that not so much in changing the condition of the labourer as in changing the man; is the chief solution of social problems to be found, no one can help asking, How is such change to be accomplished? If you give up the lower task, how do you expect to accomplish that which is higher and more difficult?

The remarkable organisation which calls itself "The Labour Church" is based upon the principle that the "uniting of all classes in working for the abolition of commercial slavery" is itself a religion. Each man is to be "free to develop his own relations with the Power which brought him into being," if he believes there is one and can find out anything about Him. But for the desired emancipation from moral and social bondage are needed "the development of personal character and the improvement of social conditions." In this last we agree heartily, especially as regards the order of the two requirements. It is this "development of personal character" which forms the *crux*. Development is a good word; how is it to come about? If it be said, it will be generated by the new conditions, we do not believe that the stream will rise higher than its source. We hold that for the renewal of character a higher power is needed than any which man alone can "develop" under the most favouring conditions. And therefore it is that we have scanned somewhat closely Mrs. Ward's utterances on this subject of adequate motive-power, and, so far as *Marcella* is concerned, have found them wanting. The watchers by Hallin's bedside read to him Isaiah or Plato; curious and unsatisfactory consolation, surely, for a dying man whose heart was in social reform. Which part of the constitution of the ideal "Republic" would bring comfort to the heart of a man whom Christ had taught to love his fellow men and work for their welfare? But we remember that Mrs. Humphry Ward considers the Gospels to be mainly legendary, and questions whether we have any trustworthy record concerning the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth, beyond a few characteristic sayings. As to special divine revelation or

saving power in that Life and Death, she finds no more than may be found in any high type of humanity, in lofty self-sacrifice, sublime moral teaching, and utter self-devotion.

We have no wish to drag into this article the unwelcome element of theological controversy. Unitarian or Trinitarian, it may be said, what matters it? In Mrs. Ward's own words concerning Jesus of Nazareth, "What matter what we think about Him, so long as we think of Him?" It matters just thus much and no more; that we should be prepared to say with what kind of moral and spiritual leverage it is proposed to raise the world. We agree with the gifted authoress of *Marcella* that the leverage must be moral and spiritual. We question whether the lofty and high-sounding, but flimsy and unsubstantial, religious creed which her books propound is adequate to supply what is necessary. It has never done so in the past; it is unlikely to do so in the future. Those who would move the world must have firmer ground to stand on than any that *Marcella* supplies.

ART. II.—THE NATURALIST IN LA PLATA
AND PATAGONIA.

1. *The Naturalist in La Plata.* By W. H. HUDSON, C.M.Z.S., joint author of *Argentine Ornithology*. With illustrations. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1892.
2. *Idle Days in Patagonia.* By W. H. HUDSON, author of *The Naturalist in La Plata*, &c. Illustrated by Alfred Hartley and J. Smith. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1893.

CHARLES KINGSLEY has said that "the qualifications required for a perfect naturalist are as many and as lofty as were required, by old chivalrous writers, for the perfect knight-errant of the Middle Ages." And certainly the naturalist who would worthily perform his task, especially if

he live in unexplored lands, must be no ordinary individual. He needs to be vigorous in body; an athlete, taking hardship as a tonic, loving the oar, the alpenstock, the rifle and the back of the horse; at home in the sun and the rain, in lonely forest, on untraversed river, wide grassy plain and sterile thorny desert. He must be brave and patient to a high degree, full of manly, tender feeling, quick to understand the savage, and to secure his confidence and help, ready to share with all comers the contents of his wallet and flask, and incapable of petty revenge. He must possess a passion for wild things and an eye for beauty. He must be a reverent seeker for truth, open-minded, investigating fact and phenomenon absolutely without bias, eagerly following to its goal any clue that Nature may put into his hand wherever it may lead him. He must through all seek not his own things—his worldly advantage, his distinction and fame, or his pleasure—but the things which belong to science; and, in his devotion to his work, must be ready to face the terrors of climate and hostile men, and pass many a day of unutterable solitude and fatigue far away from the solaces of civilised society, solely for the joy set before him, inspired by the hope of no other reward than that of winning the heart of Nature and inducing her to commit her secrets to him, and to cede some portion of her territory to his unwearying endeavour, that he may annex it to the ever-widening kingdom of knowledge.

This century has known not a few naturalists of this type: enthusiastic, self-sacrificing men who have brought scrupulous honesty and unswerving love of truth to their laborious tasks. And the spirit that dwelt in them is to-day more widely diffused than ever. We are conscious of it in almost every page of the works of Mr. W. H. Hudson, who, emerging from the obscurity of a South American *estancia*, has taken his place beside Darwin and Wallace and Bates and Belt as a naturalist of the very first rank.

Several circumstances are contributory to the value of Mr. Hudson's volumes—*The Naturalist in La Plata* and *Idle Hours in Patagonia*. The writer is not a mere globe-trotter who hurries by steamboat and rail over sea and land, making a few cursory jottings in his diary, reading up the guide-books, and

purchasing a sheaf of photographs, and then comes home, at the end of twelve months, to write a book on the political, economic, and social conditions of the countries through which he has swiftly careered, at the same time adding descriptive notes of the fauna and flora. These books to which we call attention are the work of one who was born and who spent a great part of his life in La Plata, and to whom the vast stretch of country and its natural scenery, its native people, its wonderful avifauna from the rhea to the humming-bird, its teeming insect life, its wild beasts, many of which are of singular interest, are known almost as thoroughly as White of Selborne knew the birds and other wild creatures of his parish.

We are impressed with Mr. Hudson's boundless delight in everything that lives and moves, his unique powers of observation, and his careful and minute registration of all that comes under his notice, not only of unaccountable natural phenomena, such as apparent deviations from the established laws of migration, but of the daily life and habits of all the animate creatures that grow up under his eyes. Nothing escapes him. He seems, like Richard Jefferies, to know Nature as by intuition. And to this priceless gift he adds a large inductive faculty which has been informed and trained by wide scientific reading. He is no rule-of-thumb naturalist, and no mere reporter of what he sees and hears; but, as Mr. Wallace has said of him, "he groups his facts and observations so as to throw light on obscure problems, and often adduces evidence calculated to decide them." There is little of the technical, and there is nothing of the dry-as-dust scientist; but there is accurate information in attractive form. Great speculative questions touching man's evolution and his place in Nature are hinted at, but with wise reticence. There are many side-lights on the doctrine of natural selection, and profound and acute discussions of such subjects as the instinct of fear, sight and the sense of colour in savages and civilised man, the migration of birds, snow and the quality of whiteness, the scent of flowers and associated memory, strange instincts of cattle, such as the excitement caused by the smell of blood, the persecution of a sick or weakly animal by its companions, and

the anger caused in some animals when a scarlet cloth is shown to them. Perhaps, for the majority of readers, the most interesting parts of these volumes will be the chapters that deal with music and dancing in Nature, the extraordinary love for man which the savage puma manifests, humming-birds and "a noble woop," the genius of certain species of spiders, curious animal weapons, mimicry and warning colours in grasshoppers, dragon-fly storms, and kindred themes.

To his knowledge, accuracy, reverence and philosophic depth, the author adds a bewitching style, beautiful as the plumage of his birds, clear as the atmosphere of the Patagonian *steppe*, spell-like in its power of fascination, and marked by the freshness and vividness of a purely out-door naturalist who presents us with the fruit of his own toil. We feel the wind and the sun on our brow, or drink from that cup of privation "which is both bitter and sweet to the taste," as he leads us through the long pampas-grass, or into the ocean of barren yellow sand-hills and thorny thickets of the wilderness. Our hearts beat quickly, as wild creatures start from our feet; the scream of huge birds pierces our ear like an invisible rapier; mocking birds warble a marvellous melody, and the air is alive with flashing wings. We seem to ride beside the naturalist on his long journeys, for he spent much time on horseback, and to muse and reflect with him, and work out the theories which occupied his solitary hours with Nature. Or we tramp the desert and share his disappointment when the white gleam of the seeming lagoon, which brought hope to the thirst-parched lips, turns out to be only a salt efflorescence on a barren patch of ground. We build the camp-fire and lie down stiff and sore to a short sleep on the hard sand, and wake to welcome the first indication of the approach of day, not in the sky, but in the voices of the birds, the exquisite melody of the desert. We catch a glimpse of the Indian and the *gaucho*, and note their regard for the white man living among them who is generous and fears not.

Until twenty years ago, the pampas of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of a long narrow margin of pastoral country held by the descendants of the European conquerors of the sixteenth century, was the home and hunting-ground of aborigines who

roamed over the grassy plains in pursuit of game, and whose wild war-cries filled at times with terror the half-civilised borderers. Occasionally, the Indian swept like a wave of devastating flame over the foreigner's fringe of territory, destroying all that came in his way. In Mr. Hudson's books he appears as a splendid horseman simply. He owns a docile creature of high mettle with an eye and a scent which no vulture can equal, and so completely under control that the slightest touch of the hand of its master on its neck is sufficient to guide it. It is warmly attached to its master. Indeed, a beautiful fellowship exists between the dumb animal and the man whom it carries. The Indian, Mr. Hudson says, has little individuality, or power to adapt himself to changing conditions of life. Nothing seems to be done, as yet, with a view to his being civilised and converted to Christianity; but a man capable of such strong affection as he is wont to exhibit toward his horse is surely worth saving from the extermination to which the aborigines of most lands appear to be doomed. In 1879 war was made on him, and he was compelled by the Argentine Government to move away into remote and shadowy regions as yet unknown to Europeans.

The *gaucho*, the modern man of the plains, is of mixed blood. Like the Indian, he is a born rider. His legs grip the horse's sides like a vice. Place him on the ground and he says "his feet are cut off." Each leg describes an arc, and his toes turn inward, and his walk is an exaggerated waddle. He is like a sea-diving bird which no longer rides the furious waves, but is stranded on a sandy beach. Locomotion is all but impossible. But on horseback he is at home; he will sleep soundly and superior to peril in the saddle, and is lithe and brave, capable of enduring great privation, and often covers vast stretches of country with extraordinary speed. His looks do not commend him. Fierce eyes glitter out of a swarthy face, which is set in a frame of rusty beard. Formidable weapons hang from his belt. But notwithstanding he is not without geniality. The guitar swings from his saddle bow, "and in the evening, whilst his meal is roasting at the ranch fire, he tunes his instrument and sings to its accompaniment." The sagacity of his horse is amazing. An instance is given

of a hunted deserter from the army of Rosas who eluded his pursuers for years through the fidelity of his horse. When the *gaucho* lay down to snatch an hour's rest in the long grass his horse kept guard. If a mounted man appeared in the distance, the horse would seize his master's cloak with his teeth and awake him. Springing on the animal's back, the *gaucho* would vanish out of sight in a moment by plunging into one of the dense reed-beds where no stranger dared follow. The *gaucho* is commonly credited with extraordinary power of sight; but Mr. Hudson asserts that his sight is no better than ours, and the error is no less an error because it has received the approval of scientists.

"I happen to know something of savages from experience. It is true that he will point you out an object in the distance and tell its character, and it will be to your sight only a dark-coloured object, which might be a bush or stone. The secret of the difference is that his eye is trained and accustomed to see certain things which he looks for and expects to find. Put him where the conditions are new to him and he will be at fault; or even on his native heath, set him before an unfamiliar or unexpected object and he will show no superiority over his civilised brother."

This statement Mr. Hudson establishes by irresistible evidence. "Nature has given to him, as to all her creatures, only what was necessary, and nothing for ostentation."

To-day the pampas is taken possession of by "the emasculated migrant from Genoese and Neapolitan slums," who with more or less success is striving to subdue this unconquered province of Nature. The number of emigrants arriving in the Argentine Republic is large. Between 1883 and 1890 the annual average was 136,000; in 1889 the number was 289,014. Of course not all these are Italians; many are Germans. The naturalist sighs over the change.

He finds his field in the pampas as it existed before the agencies introduced by Europeans had done their work, and as it still exists in its remoter parts. This humid, grassy country comprises an area of 200,000 square miles, reaching half-way from the Atlantic Coast, and gradually passing into the more sterile regions, which produce only stunted shrubs, contiguous to Patagonia. This immense plain is wholly devoid of grandeur. It has no lakes, no rivers, and though the soil

is rich and the climate moist, no dense forests; indeed, to a great extent, it is treeless. The monotony is increased by the fact that the horizon approaches within narrow limits. There are no mountains, no modest elevations even, from which the eye may roam afar and attain the sense of vastness which one imagines would be associated with these boundless stretches of level country. The coarse grass is everywhere, crowding out all other vegetation, and scarcely permitting a bright flower to shine out of the unvarying green surface, except where marsh plants, asserting their superior strength in their own habitat, blossom in swampy ground, or verbenas display their rose and white on occasional open spaces in sunny patches. But the flora is extremely meagre. The one beautiful plant which gives interest to the landscape is the stately pampa-grass (*Gynerium argenteum*). No one seeing it only in our English gardens, graceful though it be when well-grown, can conceive its exquisite loveliness. Its feathery spikes rise to the height of nine feet, and its colours, "the various ethereal tints that give a blush to its cloud-like purity," are very charming. "It covers large areas with a sea of fleecy-white plumes; in late summer and in autumn the tints are seen varying from the most delicate rose, tender and illusive as the blush on the white under-plumage of some gulls, to purple and violaceous." The sunset hour is the one hour of the day on these plains when the softened light imparts a mistiness to the crowding plumes.

Mr. Hudson tells, as a poet might do, of the profound silence of this region, broken only by the shrill music of the wind in the dry reed-beds, and the eternal sobbings and murmurings, like the fret of the sea against its shores, that swell and die away, and swell again over the melancholy expanse—melancholy despite the unfailing sunshine. Even the resident birds call with subdued voices; and those gifted with song sing low plaintive melodies, even when they belong to species which usually are noisy. "The silence of Nature has infected them." No doubt this may be explained, as Mr. Hudson shows, by the fact that, while the birds of the forests soon lose sight of each other amid the thick foliage, and are only prevented from being scattered by calling often

and shrilly, the birds on the open pampas are not concealed, and can see each other far off, and, consequently, the habit of screaming and high-pitched singing is not evolved. Further, the spirit of emulation enters, in the case of forest birds, to add to the loudness of their calls and songs; while the fact that sound travels far in the still atmosphere of the plains tends to the habit of subdued calling and singing and silence. It is very noteworthy that the voices of birds, and the chirping of insects, and the notes of batrachians are in key with the sougling and whispering of the wind in reeds and grasses. Even the naturalist of the plains finds difficulty in distinguishing between them.

There is no great variety of species in the mammalia of this region. Animals are comparatively few, and yearly are becoming fewer. We sympathise with Mr. Hudson in his indictment of the colonist and the European hunter, who, in his rage for beautiful skins, carries death and destruction into the pampas, and is fast exterminating strange and rare creatures. Of the mammalia, the vizcacha is one of the most interesting. Mr. Hudson devotes a long chapter to its history. This is the only animal which is the special production of the pampas. It is but a rodent, exhibiting strong marsupial qualities, and yet, contrary to what we might expect, it is a creature of singular intelligence, which, like the beaver, simulates man's organising instincts and building operations. It lives in a village community, numbering from twenty to thirty members. It forms a series of deep-chambered burrows, with a large pit-like entrance, on a mound which it throws up so as to be out of the reach of floods. The vizcacha is a slow traveller, and the butt and prey of all rapacious beasts. To go abroad after the tender grasses which it loves would be a serious peril, so it makes a wide clearing around its home, often half-an-acre in extent, and turns this open space into a pasture where it feeds and gambols, with a watchful eye on its foes, in peace and safety. If an enemy appears, the shrill trumpet of alarm is sounded, and the whole community scuttle away as quickly as their slow legs can carry them to their dwellings. The vizcacha is greatly attached to his kind. He will even submit to the residence of a fox in his burrow; and

many birds and insects build their nests in the home of this interesting rodent. We must pass over the other rodents on the pampas, the cui (*Cavia australis*), the coypu and the occulto, remarking only concerning the last-named, which is a large mole, that it is seldom seen, but all day long and all night its voice sounds "resonant and low, as if a company of gnomes were toiling far down underfoot, beating on their anvils, first with strong measured strokes, then with lighter and faster, and with a swing and rhythm as if the little men were beating in time to some rude chant unheard above the surface."

Of *canines* there are but two: a fox-like dog, and the aguara, a slim, shy, red-haired wolf. The armadillo represents the *edentates*. These slow-moving, near-sighted, armour-plated animals are rapidly disappearing from the plains, with the exception of the hairy armadillo. This poor survival of the past, this contemporary of the nine feet long giants of the post-tertiary deposits of South America, is not surpassed in versatility and facility of adaptation and cunning by the fox. To an unmodified structure—for like its ancestors in the misty past it is cased and cuirassed from head to tail in a solid mail of bone—it adds new habits. It is quite a strategist in the art of capturing its prey. It loves flesh, but nothing comes amiss to its palate. It is a creature of the day or the night as circumstances demand. Naturally, it is of diurnal habit, and thus escapes the great carnivores, which are chiefly nocturnal; but when man comes on the scene it becomes a night prowler with a view to evading his incessant persecution. The Italian settler has no objection to a roast armadillo.

Of the carnivores, the first in importance is the puma, the lion of South America. This versatile creature has no rival for splendid courage, for cunning and cruelty. It attacks the ferocious jaguar, a much stronger but not nearly so agile an animal, and hunts down by preference the most powerful and the swiftest creatures. It has the elastic spring of a cat, the eye of a hawk, and terrible claws and teeth. It is the deadly enemy of the larger domestic animals, and especially of the horse. Its method of attack is to leap on the back of its victim and with a single violent wrench to dislocate its neck, thus killing its prey with the celerity of a rifle bullet. It sucks

the blood of its slain foe, and conceals the body under long grass, but seldom eats more than a small portion of the breast. The most extraordinary thing about the ungentle puma is its gentleness towards human beings. It never attacks man, woman, or defenceless child, never wets its lips in human gore. Even the huntsman sleeping in the grass in the open air is never hurt by this bloodthirsty "monarch cat." It is altogether passive in the presence of man, and is known to have allowed itself to be captured with the *lasso* and put to death without the slightest resistance. The puma refuses to see in man an enemy even when man is accompanied by a dog. Its rage at the dog is sublime. "Its hair stands erect, its eyes shine like balls of flame, it spits and snarls furiously." But it brushes past the dog's master without showing any signs of anger at him. It is sometimes kept in captivity, and when petted it purrs like a cat, comes to the hand to be caressed, will race after a string, and exhibit all the playfulness of a kitten.

The fact of its inoffensiveness where man is concerned is so like a fable that it would be beyond belief were it not completely established by competent and trustworthy naturalists. Mr. Hudson declares that no authentic instance has been recorded of the puma making an unprovoked attack on any human being.

Mr. Hudson, who is pre-eminently an ornithologist, has much to say on the birds of the pampas and of Patagonia. There are on the pampas some eighteen species of aquatic birds, of which no catalogue need be given here, including noble ibises and swans, flamingoes and graceful *ypicahas* and tall storks—birds with eerie voices that terrify the midnight with an unearthly blood-curdling laugh, and birds that brighten the noontide with their sweet, uplifting melodies. The spur-crested screamer (*Chauva chavarrier*) is perhaps the most remarkable bird on the South American continent. It is the most nearly related of all living birds to the lizard. Its skin is distended by means of a layer of air-bubbles underneath which extend over the whole body and even to the legs and toes. It is a fine bird, lapwing-shaped, and about the size of a swan, of slaty-blue plumage. It is crested and has a collar of black. Its eyes stand out of a ring of naked bright red skin. Each

wing is armed with two formidable spurs as large as a lion's claw and sharp as a surgeon's lance. "Its favourite pastime is to soar until it loses itself to sight in the blue ether, where it pours forth its resounding choral notes which reach the earth clarified and etherealised, and with a rhythmic swell and fall as of chiming bells." Its name does injustice to its place in the musical bird-choir. Its note of alarm is no doubt a far-resounding scream; but its long clear strain of song is only comparable to that of the lark, but is an infinitely mightier melody, "a perpetual rain of jubilant sound." When these birds appear in flocks of thousands, as is often the case, they sing in concert at intervals during the night, making the plains for miles around to ring and echo with their music. Mr. Hudson describes what he once heard on a lake on the pampas where countless numbers of these birds had collected in flocks:

"Presently one flock near me began singing, and continued their powerful chant for three or four minutes; when they ceased the next flock took up the strain, and after it the next, and so on until the notes of the flocks on the opposite shore came strong and clear across the water, then passed away, growing fainter and fainter, until once more the sound approached me travelling round to my side again. The effect was very curious."

On another occasion he was passing the night in a *gaucho's rancho* in a desolate marshy spot where the crested screamer swarmed in vast flocks. About nine o'clock "the entire multitude of birds on the marsh for miles around suddenly burst into a tremendous evening song." The rush of sound from perhaps 500,000 voices was indescribable. Though it was louder than the thunder of the ocean on a rocky coast, it was not a roar; for thousands of individual voices, bass, contralto, soprano, were distinguishable, but all blending in one mighty harmony. The still air over the dark lonely plains palpitated, and the very *rancho* trembled in the tempest of sound. The traveller sat mute and overcome with astonishment at this great concert, which, he says, was worth riding a hundred miles to hear. We can imagine how sublime must be the effect of these outbursts of song in the awful stillness of the night on the pampas.

The crested screamer will rise through black clouds during a thunderstorm, and sing above the muttering thunder. This bird is mild-tempered and easily domesticated. It is capable of attachment to man, and peculiarly suited for man's protection, without which it will, Mr. Hudson asserts, be soon numbered among extinct species. We do not wonder that the naturalist should speak scornfully of the higher civilisation represented by the Italian emigrant, who is a pitiless enemy of all bird-life and destroys all the finest types. The ancient man, the so-called barbarian, domesticated and developed by artificial selection wild creatures for his service, and thus wrought for the perpetuation of species; but modern man is occupied with the manufacture of weapons of destruction, which he employs, and teaches the savage to employ, to rid the earth of all that is graceful in form and bright in colour; ay, and of much, too, possessing sterling qualities that might be utilised for his own benefit. With the great island continents at his feet, with the New World, from the Arctic Seas to Terra del Fuego, free for him to select from, with Africa for a hunting-ground, he has failed during the centuries of his colonising and raiding to add a single new domestic species; or even to adapt largely to his needs such animals as the elephant and the zebra, which the semi-savage had already brought to his hand. Extermination seems to be his motto: not human guardianship, but rather the present gratification of short-sighted passions to have and to enjoy; not the evolution of latent aptitudes in wild creatures by wise protection for his own ultimate profit, as well as for the preservation of beautiful form and colour, and sweet and homely sounds, but a luxurious fur and a bright wing at any cost.

The rhea, the grand archaic ostrich of America, is fast dying out. It is a magnificent creature, of great speed and staying power, and of wondrous strategy. In flight it has the singular habit, difficult to explain, of running with one wing raised vertically, like a sail. Its great size would make it an easy target for the hunter but for the fact that its colour, which is pale bluish grey, renders it indistinguishable from the hazy atmosphere of the plains at any considerable distance. Still, the rhea is no match for the rifle. As for the horseman and

the lasso, he laughed at these a scornful laugh, as he sailed away over the waste of verdure. But now he falls an easy victim.

This may be a fitting place to glance at the instinct of fear in birds. Mr. Hudson does not accept without more than the proverbial grain of salt the Darwinian theory that birds instinctively fear man, and that the instinct is hereditary. We note in this matter, as in many others, Mr. Hudson's capacity for looking at things as they exist, and his unwillingness to square unusual or exceptional phenomena with preconceived ideas and ready-made theories, even when widely accepted by eminent scientists. He boldly faces the inexplicable, and has no fear of being declared unorthodox. He objects to Darwin's theory on the ground that the growth of an hereditary instinct of fear would require more time than the theory provides for. "Instincts practically endure for ever, and are not presumably acquired with such extraordinary facility." Shyness, in birds, he thinks, is the result of persecution, and young birds learn the habit from their parents. This persecution is not necessarily persecution by man; it may be by other birds. Mr. Hudson often found birds in the desert, to whom the human form was almost unknown, shyer than in the vicinity of human dwellings. Young domestic birds are tamer than old ones, evincing little, if any, instinctive fear of man. Suspicion has its root in the strangeness of an object, or in experience of man's destructive power; confidence springs out of familiarity, and experience of man's kindness. Fear of man is an associated feeling. Take the rhea, for instance. It has been systematically hunted by savage man for long, long ages. Here we should expect to find fear of man in the young, if anywhere. Yet, as a matter of fact, Mr. Hudson, though he had observed scores of young rheas in captivity, taken before the parent had taught them what to fear, was unable to detect any trace of such an instinct. On the contrary, they appeared to cherish the same instinctive affection for him as they might have done for their parent. The nestling in its wild state has absolutely no instinctive knowledge of particular enemies or friends. It will open its bill and take food from the hand of man as readily as from the old bird. Mr. Hudson claims to have had

unrivalled opportunities for studying the habits of young birds and his observations, he says, point to a conclusion directly contrary to that which Darwin has formulated. In nearly every case fear in birds, not only of man, but of hawks, &c., is the result of "experience and tradition"—that is, knowledge of its enemies handed down to it by the parent birds.

Under "Music and Dancing in Nature," Mr. Hudson deals largely with the playfulness of birds. It is no uncommon thing in our northern clime to see wild birds indulging in strange antics, strutting, fluttering, displaying their bright colours, and accompanying all this with merry calls and sweet snatches of song. This occurs chiefly in the springtide, the time of pairing and nesting. In tropical South America, this playfulness is seen to perfection. Mr. Hudson discusses the question of the relation of the passion of love to the remarkable antics and vocal performances which many male birds exhibit during the season of courtship, and arrives at the conclusion, as the result of independent investigation, that "conscious natural selection" on the part of the female is not the cause of music and dancing in birds. We must refer the reader to his pages for an eloquent and ample discussion of this interesting subject. But, in brief, Mr. Hudson thinks Darwin was led to mistaken conclusions by confining his attention to, and basing his arguments on, a few carefully selected individual cases from all regions, in which the plain-plumaged female apparently watched critically the dancing of the different males, and heard critically their songs, and chose for her own the most excellent according to the avian standard. In other words, Darwin failed through the limited range of his observation. The Darwinian theory is quite inadequate to account for facts such as Mr. Hudson relates, and is unsupported by the evidence which presented itself so abundantly to him. To begin with, the male in most cases selects the female, not the female the male. But we must allow Mr. Hudson to speak:

"The explanation which I have to offer lies very much on the surface, and is very simple indeed, and, like that of Dr. Wallace with relation to colour and ornaments, covers the whole of the facts. We see that the inferior animals, when the conditions of life are

favourable, are subject to periodical fits of gladness, affecting them powerfully, and standing out in vivid contrast to their ordinary temper."

This is also true of man in the joyous days of youth, and when in perfect health.

"Birds are more subject to this universal joyous instinct, and there are times when some species are constantly overflowing with it; and as they are so much freer than mammals, more buoyant and graceful in action, more loquacious, and have voices so much finer, their gladness shows itself in a variety of ways, with more regular and beautiful motions, and with melody. But every species, or group of species, has its own inherited form or style of performance."

This feeling is spontaneous, irresistible, and contagious. The sight of one bird mad with joy makes the whole flock mad. Females as well as males share in it. It is admitted that these displays of mirth and song take place chiefly in the nesting season, when the vitality of the birds is most abundant. Bird life now reaches its most perfect development. Spring is in the air and in the blood of all creatures. The sun is beginning to warm the earth after the winter, and food is plentiful, and gladness is the universal experience.

It is not to be wondered that the male bird is the more vigorous in antics and song. His superior strength and verve are the result of struggle and rivalry between the males for the possession of the females. This is a form of sexual selection to which all naturalists subscribe.

We are introduced to a bird-choir of many voices, not a few of which are of great sweetness and purity. Mr. Hudson claims pre-eminence as songsters for the South American birds; and is somewhat unhappy when he calls to mind the fact that European naturalists have not done justice to his favourite birds. The lovely creatures that fill the vales of Old England with delicious melody are said to be far surpassed by these New World songsters. Mr. Hudson asserts that the thrush's music might be taken out of the Calandria mocking bird's performance and not be greatly missed. He deprecates our imagining that he is able to describe adequately the songs of his birds, on the ground that "we have no symbols to represent such sounds on paper," and that we are powerless to

convey to another the impression they make on us as we are to describe the odours of flowers. We are at one with him when he says that the old method of *spelling* bird-notes is fanciful and delusive, and that the newer method of representing them by our musical notation, which stands solely for specific *human* sounds, is equally unsatisfactory. It is unlikely that any system of notation can be invented, owing to the number and variety of the sounds and the difference in quality and timbre, from the clanging call to the sibilant whisper, and to the singular aerial quality of bird-music which nothing can help us to describe. Perhaps the expedient sometimes employed of projecting into bird-music our human feelings and sympathy, and describing it as tender, or plaintive, or merry, is the best way of arriving at anything like a true idea; but this, too, may be misleading. One ear hears melancholy in the song of the nightingale; another hears only gladness. Before coming to England, Mr. Hudson had read what our ornithologists said about the songs of British birds, and had striven to get a just conception of them. On hearing our birds for himself, he found that his pains had been wasted. Almost every song came to him as a surprise. This was inevitable. For to say that a song is sweet, or mellow, &c., is but to describe a generic quality, and gives no idea of the distinctive character of the sound—of the

“little jets of brilliant melody spurted out by the robin; the more sustained lyric of the wren, sharp, yet delicate; the careless half song, half recitative of the common warbler; the small fragments of dreamy aerial music emitted by the wood wren amidst the high translucent foliage; the hurried fantastic melody of liquid and grating sounds of the reed warbler; the song of the swallow, in which the quick, up-leaping notes seem to dance in the air, spontaneous and glad as the laughter of some fairy-like child.”

It is singular that many travellers should have fostered the idea that South America is a region “where birds forget to sing”; when, really, all our finest singers are represented; and there are innumerable songsters to which we have none to correspond. The blackbird whistles by the waterside; mocking birds, with highly developed vocal powers, are abundant; 400 species of tanagers, finch-like birds of gorgeous plumage, warble

in the forest and on the plains. Twelve hundred species of the passerine sub-order oscines alone are songsters; a stupendous fact, when we remember that in Europe there are only 250 species that sing. No country in the world of equal size has so many songsters as South America. Perhaps the principal reason why European naturalists have overlooked facts like those given by Mr. Hudson is that the songsters referred to do not, as a rule, congregate about dwellings, but sing their wild melodies in the depths of the forest, or far out on the wide savannah, where no human ear listens. Another reason is that some naturalists find no pleasure in bird-music, and are practically deaf to it; but not all naturalists. Azara, and Wallace, and Bates, and Mr. Hudson, write eloquently of these marvellous birds. The very Indians, Bates says, rest their paddles whilst travelling in their canoes to listen awe-struck to the mysterious melody of the organ bird.

Mr. Hudson seeks to remove the mistaken notion that, as a rule, beautifully plumaged birds are indifferent singers, when compared with their dull feathered kind—that in the balance of Nature song is conferred on sober-coloured birds to compensate for the absence of beauty, and the gaily-dressed bird finds in its feathers consolation for its bereavement of the gift of song. The fact is that in South America whole families of dull-coloured birds are songless; whilst the tanagers, which are magnificent singers, rival the humming-bird in brilliance of plumage. The same is true of the troupials, numbering some 130 species, and of other similar birds.

The chapter on humming-birds is one of great value. Perhaps, in the whole range of the literature of the subject there are no more exquisite descriptions of these lovely creatures, who easily wear the crown of all beauty, than those found in *The Naturalist of the La Plata*. Mr. Hudson acknowledges that it is quite impossible to give any true idea of them by word-painting, or by pictures, and warns us against fancying that we can gain any real conception of the living bird from stuffed specimens. "All the glory disappears when the bird is dead." No words and no portrait can reproduce "the glittering garment of the humming-bird, like the silvery lace woven by the *Epeïra*, gemmed with dew, and touched with rainbow-coloured light."

And yet Mr. Hudson does succeed in conveying to us a very real conception of these living gems :

"How wonderful [he writes] their garb is, with colours so varied, so intense, yet seemingly so evanescent!—the glittering mantle of powdered gold ; the emerald green that changes to velvet black ; ruby reds and luminous scarlets ; dull bronze that brightens and burns like polished brass, and pale neutral tints that kindle to rose and lilac-coloured flame. And to the glory of prismatic colouring are added feather decorations, such as the racket plumes and downy muffs of *Spathura*, the crests and frills of *Lophornis*, the sapphire gorget burning on the snow-white breast of *Oreotrochilus*, the fiery tail of *Cometes*."

Again, of the *Phaithornis splendens*, scarcely larger than a bumble bee, he says :

"I was within three feet of it as it sucked at the flowers, suspended motionless in the air, the wings appearing mist-like from the rapid vibratory motion, but the rest of the upper plumage was seen distinctly. The head and neck and upper part of the back were emerald green, with metallic glitter, burnished, scale-like. The lower half of the back was velvet-black, the tail and coverts white as snow. There it hung like a beautiful bird-shaped gem suspended by an invisible gossamer thread."

Whether the singular beauty of this family of birds results from "the cumulative process of conscious or voluntary sexual selection," as Darwin holds, or whether it is the blossoming of superabundant vitality, as Wallace teaches, may be regarded as an open question among naturalists. Mr. Hudson in this, as in many other matters, follows Dr. Wallace.

When we come to study the habits of humming-birds we are obliged to confess that they are as unintelligent as they are beautiful. They have the avian body, but mentally they rank with insects. The thousand little acts arising from judgment and experience, which are more than instinct, by which many birds adapt themselves to new environments, are not characteristic of the *Trochilidae*. They are mechanical in their habits. The instincts of curiosity and fear appear to be absent. Like small-brained insects, such as wood-boring bees and dragon-flies, they aimlessly attack other species. They will assail without any apparent object large birds of prey, which show little resentment of their pugnacity, and allow them to go

scot free. They are not disturbed by the presence of man, and will feed close to him, and fly about his head when he is attempting to capture them. Other birds assume the attitude of watchfulness and caution when man is near. When caught the humming-bird shows none of the distress and anger which other birds manifest, and will immediately eat from the hand of the captor. The instinct of self-preservation is almost dormant; and feeling and reason appear to be absent. They are very numerous, being found everywhere on the South American continent from the Indies to the Straits of Magellan, in burning desert, on the mountains up to the snow-line, as well as in forest and on the savannah. Five hundred species are known, and doubtless there are many more; for they are most prolific in the least known parts—the unexplored forests of the Bolivian and Peruvian Alps. The few naturalists who have ventured into these solitudes have been richly rewarded by discovering new species, such as the *Loddigesia mirabilis*, a fantastic creature, “bird-form in combination with leaves, on long stalks of impossible length, curving and crossing each other so as to form geometrical figures unlike anything in Nature.”

We are inclined to think with Mr. Hudson that the want of plasticity in the character of the *Trochilidæ* is to be accounted for by the fact that they are altogether free from that struggle for existence which in the case of other birds has such a marked effect in modifying their habits. The humming-birds fit perfectly into their place. They are independent of those sources of food without which other birds cannot exist. Their unique velocity of flight places them completely out of the reach of rapacious species. They have little occasion to develop watchfulness and cunning. We might have supposed that the absence of protective colouring would make them easy victims; for it is the habit of birds of prey to single out the birds of the more brilliant plumage as the prize for their talons. “But rapacious birds do not waste their energies in the vain pursuit of humming-birds. They are in the position of neutrals, free to range at will among the combatants, insulting all alike, and flaunting their splendid colours with impunity. They are Nature’s favourites, endowed with faculties bordering on the

miraculous, and all other kinds, fierce or gentle, ask only to be left alone by them."

We had hoped to find space for such topics as unexplained departures from the usual laws of migration, the singular instinct of the huanaco, which impels it to return to the burial-place of its ancestors to die, new facts in relation to the habits of spiders and wasps, the extraordinary dragon-fly storms which sweep over the pampas, and advice to would-be emigrants. But we must close, acknowledging our debt of gratitude to Mr. Hudson for these handsome volumes which no lover of Nature can afford to neglect—volumes which enlarge our knowledge, deepen our reverence, and inspire us with faith.

ART. III.—THE CATACOMBS AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

1. *Roma Sotterranea: An Account of the Catacombs.* By the Rev. J. S. NORTHCOTE, D.D., and the Rev. W. R. BROWNLOW, M.A. Part II. London: Longmans. 1879.
2. *The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony relative to Primitive Christianity.* By the Rev. J. WITHROW, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.
3. *Articles on the "Catacombs" in Herzog Enkyklopädie; Encyclopædia Britannica; Dictionary of Christian Antiquities; McClintock and Strong, &c.*

FOR three or four centuries the Catacombs were the burial-places for the Christians of Rome and the surrounding country. In Pagan Rome, among the wealthier classes at least, cremation was the chief means for the disposal of the dead. Slaves and outcasts were, perhaps, flung into the *arenaria*, or sand-pits, or into the river. The first Christians would naturally preserve the traditional institution of burial which they received from the Jewish teachers who were their

earliest instructors in the new religion. It is said that the Diaspora—the Jewish dispersion—can be traced through Asia and Eastern Europe by the graves of their dead. Moreover, the Christian was prompted in this observance of the Jewish custom by the exalted ideas of a bodily resurrection which belonged to his new faith. An increased significance had come into the Hebrew Psalmist's utterance: "My flesh also shall rest in hope."

It was once thought that the Catacombs were disused sand-pits and quarries, in the secrecy of which the Jews and Christians found security for the dead, and a refuge from persecution. When it was observed that they were situated on the principal roads such as the Via Appia, this theory began to lose ground. It was then perceived, also, that they were too extensive to have remained undiscovered. Besides, the Roman law, which was generally tolerant to religious customs, though it often attempted to suppress Christianity as a *superstitio malefica*, did not interfere with the Jew or the Christian in his burial practice. Pilate gave the body of Jesus to Joseph; Stephen was carried by devout men to his burial; and the Christian martyr generally found refuge in the grave. In the third century the funeral clubs were the only institution of the Church which the law recognised.

The physical features of the valley of the Tiber encouraged the development of these vast mortuaries. The superficial sand-pits, which belonged to the old bed of the river, have underneath them a layer of volcanic deposit about ten feet thick. This *Tufa granolare*, as it is called, is easily worked by pick and spade; while it is compact enough to allow arched galleries to be formed in it, separated by pillars and walls sufficiently firm to support the twenty or thirty feet of material which lies upon them. Under this, again, is a stone conglomerate, rough and hard, which has been a common building-stone in Rome. Too hard to be excavated for the tombs, it served as a dry and secure foundation for the habitations of the dead which were ranged above it.

Burial in stone was a widespread practice in the ancient world. Cairns, cromlechs, pyramids and mausoleums all attested, in their own way, that the bodies of the dead had a

sacredness of their own; and, perhaps, also that death did not absolutely end the history of the individual. Abraham and Sarah were buried in the cave of Machpelah. Peræa, Egypt, Persia had their rock-sepulchres; and "Catacombs" have been found in South America, as well as in Etruria and Naples. The name "Catacombs" which, it is supposed, was first given to the district in which the cemetery of Sebastian was situate, was afterwards used for all found in the vicinity of Rome.

The disused sand-pits would, no doubt, furnish sites which could be bought at a low price; and when it was found that the *tufa* could be easily wrought and arranged for tombs, the work of extension went on rapidly. At the end of four centuries there were twenty-four cemeteries of this class in and around Rome. The passages of these subterranean graveyards would, if placed in line, extend to five hundred miles; and it is believed that not less than six millions of human bodies found their last home in their *loculi* and *cubacula*. As the majority of these would belong to the Church, we have in this fact a striking testimony to the progress of the Christian faith in Rome during that primitive period.

It is not unlikely that in times of persecution the long galleries of the Catacombs, with wider excavations interspersed, and only entered by narrow openings, afforded shelter to Christian worshippers. In A.D. 257, when the celebration of the anniversary of the martyrs in chapels and basilicas erected over their graves was forbidden, Pope Felix I. arranged for the *Natalitia* to be celebrated in the Catacombs. We shall see that many relics of these solemnities still survive. Hippolytus (A.D. 220) tells how his great adversary, Callistus, was "appointed to the cemetery," which took the name of the latter. In this great historic cemetery thirteen Popes were laid. Pope Sixtus, with his deacon Laurentius, was beheaded in the cemetery of Prætextatus on the Appian Way. In A.D. 260 Gallienus allowed to the Christians the use of their burial-places, but they still found it prudent to conceal their visits. Under Numerian a large number of believers, who had fled with a number of silver vessels to a Catacomb in Via Salaria, were built up alive.

At the latter end of the third century—even under Diocletian—the Christians had some intervals of peace, and a fine tomb was at this time prepared for the deacon Severus in the cemetery of Callistus. Marcellinus opened a new cemetery on the property of a matron—Priscilla—whose name it still bears, on the Via Salaria. But when persecution ceased, and Church property and privileges were restored, a new era began for the Catacombs, as for the other institutions of the Church. It was no longer necessary to bury the dead so far underground, and in A.D. 410 interments ceased. New basilicas were built over the more important graves. Jerome visited the Catacombs when he was a boy (A.D. 359) and found them deserted and gloomy. His patron, Pope Damasus, undertook a work of restoration. He removed many of the old monuments, added eulogistic inscriptions to others, put in new stairs, and embellished many of the ancient graves. Jerome found, when he revisited the scene forty years later, that the grave of Hippolytus had been renewed by Damasus, that the coffin was placed near to the altar, and that other chapels had been decked with silver and marble. The time was coming for the veneration of the persecuted saints and their relics. Pope vied with Pope in the endeavour to honour them. This well-meant devotion, however, worked irreparable injury to the monuments. Few inscriptions were left in their original integrity. It is said that Pope Paschal in the ninth century removed two thousand three hundred bodies to the church of St. Prassede. In later days bodies were transferred wholesale to the Pantheon. The remains of St. Peter and St. Paul were supposed to have lain in the Catacombs until they were brought to the Vatican hill.

That which the zeal of Popes and people did not entirely accomplish the sacrilegious hands of the Goths effected in the tenth century. The best tombs were rifled for the valuables which they were supposed to contain. These rude hands closed the narrow approaches to the ancient vaults, and the memory of their extent and value was almost lost to the Church. A dim tradition lingered around a few, like that of St. Sebastian, to which pilgrimages were continued; but for half a millennium the Catacombs were little more than a name.

They were again brought to light, by accident, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The antiquarian Bosio spent thirty years in the exploration of the buried treasure. His great work, *Roma Sotterranea*, in one volume folio, was only published after his death. Fifty years later this great work was republished by Arringhi in two volumes folio. These volumes were a revelation to the learned world.

It was well, in one respect, that the testimony of the Catacombs should first be examined and reported on by Romish investigators. The Romish Church had suffered enough in the sixteenth century to make any new discovery, which antiquity could render to its claims, very valuable. If unfriendly hands had first fallen on this marvellous collection of ecclesiastical data, there might always have been a suspicion that they had been misrepresented. But, happily, no such reflections can be made. The first explorers went forth under at least the approval of the Vatican. The results of their labours are gathered, largely, in the Vatican galleries. On the other hand, all parties allow that the conduct of the business, allotted to these agents of the Church, has been diligent and praiseworthy. The importance of the quest, and, we cannot doubt, a high sense of responsibility, have had their influence on the principal manipulators of these ancient relics. From Bosio down to De Rossi, the information concerning the early Church contained in these precious treasures has been elicited by Roman Catholic investigators. If they have not always been fortunate in their classification of objects, we cannot be surprised when we remember how slowly the standards of art-appreciation are formed. If they interpret the facts in their own way, they only do what every school of investigators will do in its turn. We cannot, however, resist the persuasion that there must have been great disappointment to the original inquirers, when they found so little in these ancient monuments in favour of the institutions and customs of the Church which delights to call itself "Apostolical."

The need of caution in forming a judgment of the objects discovered has been felt all round. Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow say (*Roma Sotter.* part ii. p. 3): "It is necessary therefore for all writers, whether Catholic or Protestant, to keep

a strict watch over themselves in handling this topic, lest their religious prejudices should unconsciously warp their judgment." Such a suggestion, from such a quarter, is worthy of most respectful consideration—especially by Protestant writers, who are seldom pledged, as Roman Catholics are, to stand by an antecedent theory. Yet the whole result of the examination may, we think, be summed up in the words of a careful inquirer (Rev. W. H. Withrow, M.A., p. 417): "Protestantism has nothing to fear from the closest investigation of these evidences of primitive Christianity. They offer no warrant whatever for the characteristic doctrines and practices of the modern Church of Rome. There is not a single inscription, nor painting, nor sculpture, before the middle of the fourth century, that lends the least countenance to her arrogant assumptions and erroneous dogmas. All previous to this date are remarkable for their evangelical character; and it is only after this period that the distinctive peculiarities of Romanism begin to appear." At the same time, he remarks, that "the distinguished scholarship, laborious research, and archaeological skill of such eminent authorities as De Rossi, Pitra, Garrucci, and other Roman *savants*, only furnish the weapons for the refutation of many of Rome's most cherished beliefs."

It will indeed surprise any one who comes to a careful scrutiny of these early Christian monuments, to find that they betray so slender an acquaintance with the dogmas and customs which afterwards became the specific proprieties of the Romish system. There is no reference to any "bishop" of Rome of the first two centuries. In the third century, when we find inscriptions to "Anteros, episcopus," to "Fabianus, episcopus," and to "Cornelius, martur," Greek was still the language of the Church. Even then the Romish bishop had not acquired for himself the sole designation of "Pope" or "Father." Of course such dignities as those of cardinal or archbishop were unknown in those times. But no epitaph in the Catacombs commemorates a "priest." Neither had the ministers of the Church any distinctive dress. Copes, chasubles, stoles, and cassocks, in their ecclesiastical form, all belong to later days. The ministrant at the *Agape*—and this in the third century—is clad in the pallium, which was the ordinary dress of a

gentleman or philosopher. This is so puzzling to Dr. Northcote that he explains it in his own ingenious fashion: "It is not any individual priest in the act of consecration, but rather the whole Christian priesthood idealised" (p. 93). But if it had been a typical or ideal picture of the priest, one would have all the more expected to have seen his insignia, if he had any. The fact is that in the third century the ministry wore no distinctive dress, and gloried in their freedom from ceremonial compulsion. Times soon changed, for in A.D. 428 Pope Celestine censured certain bishops in southern France because they still wore the ancient pallium.

The objection to idolatrous images and pictures which prevailed in the primitive Church precluded the fabrication of crosses or crucifixes or pictures of apostles and saints. The earliest form of the cross, which was that of the Labarum, usually associated with Alpha and Omega, belongs to the time of Constantine, 320 A.D. The "cross" proper does not appear until the fifth century. This is the more remarkable because the sign of the cross was made with the fingers on brow or breast much earlier. There was no attempt to produce a portrait of our Lord, or of St. Peter, or of the Virgin Mary before the end of the third century. Even then the saints had no nimbus or aureole. The fourth century gave them a single line, and in the next century the apostles always appear with it; but the "Virgin" was the last to be so honoured. The earliest "Madonna" is said to belong to 431 A.D.—though the date is doubtful—but there is no sign of the Mary-worship which after the sixth century became so common. The inscriptions in the Lapidarian Gallery, arranged under papal supervision, have no address to the Virgin. When the "portrait" of St. Peter first appears—in the fourth century—he is associated with St. Paul, and there is no indication that he had the supremacy. The earliest representation which refers to the crucifixion of our Lord, again, is supposed to be a blasphemous caricature—a *Graffito*—which displays a man with an ass's head bearing a cross.

One significant change which has taken place in the institutions of the system which professes to be unchangeable and infallible is that which relates to the celibacy of the clergy.

In the times of the Catacombs bishops had sons, one inscription speaks of "Basilus, presbyter, and Felicitas his wife," and the wives of deacons are frequently commemorated. The same contrast between the primitive and the modern Church meets us in the view given of the intermediate state. Heathen epitaphs are proverbially gloomy, but the Christian was privileged to "sorrow not even as the rest which have no hope." He did not regard the sepulchre as a *domus eterna*, or as a *dormitorium perpetuum*. He made no reference to the portentous D.M. (*diis manibus*, or sacred shades). With prayer and psalm he placed his deceased friend or child in the niche by the light of lamps, *in spe, in pace, in Christo*. The departed had gone from the world—*de seculo*—but now dwelt in everlasting light—*in luce eterna*. There were no "masses for the dead or living." The first sign of ominous change may be discerned at the end of the fourth century, when some monuments have the words: "Pray for us"; "Pray for thy parents." Yet even then the saint was supposed to have entered "into the joy of his Lord." The Catacombs give no evidence whatever that the dead in Christ needed the prayers and alms of those on earth. In the fifth and sixth centuries it becomes evident that the centre of faith is changed from Christ to the Church. At this later date the members of the Church are buried "in the peace of the Catholic faith," and (A.D. 523) *in pace ecclesiæ*.

It has been questioned whether any record or burial of the Catacombs goes back to the apostolic or sub-apostolic age. Christian sculpture there could not be in the first two centuries, because, if there were no other reason, the Jewish prejudice against images and figures would still exert its influence. The style of some of the frescoes indicates the third century. Inscriptions and symbols, painted in red, or white, or black, are the most ancient, and the earliest are the simplest. The name and date of deposition, with a brief eulogium, are given, as: *bene merenti, castissimæ conjugis, dulcissimo filis*. Among the earliest symbols are the fish, the anchor, and the dove—the fish disappearing in the fourth century. Then, since some coins of Domitian (A.D. 96), and on some monuments, consular dates of the second century have been found in the cemeteries

Priscilla, Domatilla, and Prætextatus, it seems hard to dispute that these burial-places came into use at least in the earliest part of the second century. The long history of the Catacombs has exposed their remains to every possible injury, and it is not strange that the most primitive relics should be difficult to identify.

Now we come to that which is not the least interesting or important portion of the testimony to primitive Christianity, which these remarkable archives—providentially preserved for the instruction of the Church in these last days—can supply. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has ever been regarded as the most venerable part of the worship of the followers of Christ. It might be expected that in the posthumous relics of the Romish Christians during five centuries the sacred rite would be duly exhibited. The traces of it, however, are either so scanty or so peculiar that Mr. Withrow suggests that the Christians anxiously concealed the details of their sacred function from the eyes of the uninitiated. The absence of any reference to the sacerdotal formalities of a later time, which marks the literature and relics of the early Church, has led to a similar observation by a Roman Catholic writer of some repute—Dr. Gasquet. He says: "The origin of the Christian liturgy is withdrawn from a rash and curious scrutiny, not merely by its own sanctity, but also by the obscurity in which it would seem to have been providentially veiled."* He also rebukes the High Churchmen of England because "the exigencies of their position have led them to strain the documentary evidence for a primitive liturgy beyond what it will bear." The fact is that to look for a "Mass," or a formal liturgical ceremony, in connection with the Lord's Supper in the first three Christian centuries is as vain as to look for a Papal definition of transubstantiation before A.D. 1215, or of the "Immaculate Conception" before A.D. 1854. The exhibition of the Christian "Communion" is one of the most frequent and striking among the entablatures of the Catacombs. But it happens to be shown in its proper historical setting, and therefore our archaeologists have not recognised it. It

* *Dublin Review*, October, 1889: "The Early History of the Mass."

appears only in its primitive form as an *Agape* or festive meal, and the key to the interpretation of its phenomena seems to have been lost. Moreover, there has been a misleading supposition accepted which has greatly assisted the "obscurity" to which Dr. Gaskell refers. It has been assumed that in the third century, to which some of these pictures may belong, the *Agape* had been long separated from the Eucharist.

In several articles which have appeared in this REVIEW we have endeavoured to show that the ordinary estimate of the date of the great change in the principal Christian observance has no good ground. Without going again over the details of the history, we only remark that there is no evidence of the change before the third century. Bishop Lightfoot has, with much labour and learning, endeavoured to demonstrate, in his great work on *Ignatius*, that the transition took place at the beginning of the second century through the edict of Trajan against *heteriæ*. Canon Tristram, however, reports a conversation which he had with the lamented bishop, in which the latter observed that he was then of opinion that the change did not take place until far into the second century. We need not indicate the effect of this judgment on the bishop's argument for the date of the Ignatian epistles, because they speak of the *Agape* as though it were the only "Communion."

It is only recently that the invariable association of the *Agape* and the Eucharist in the primitive Church has been recognised. Since the time of Gessner and Neander this fact has dawned slowly on the apprehension of investigators. In modern commentaries and handbooks it is still thought to be plausible to allege that the *Agape* was *sometimes* associated with the Eucharist, and that *sometimes* it was before the Eucharist and *sometimes* after (Chrysostom). Bishop Lightfoot, however, allowed that in the time of Ignatius the old form had not ceased, and that the *Agape* and Eucharist were inseparable parts of the one great sign of Christian fellowship. There is direct evidence that in Alexandrian churches the association was continued in the third and even in later centuries. The notices in Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian suit such an association only, and not the ecclesiastical ceremony of later date. Now we find that, in the Catacombs, the only traces of

the Lord's Supper are such as to warrant the opinion that the ancient custom was in existence in the Romish Church in the third century. At any rate, the Agape is the only form of the Eucharist which is disclosed by the monuments.

In a fresco found in the most ancient part of the area of Lucina, two lambs stand by a basket placed on a vessel. As the figure of the "Good Shepherd" is one of the earliest representations of our Lord, we may suppose that the lambs represent His people. The basket, like those in other pictures which contain loaves, indicates a feast of some kind. The vessel, also, is similar to others which frequently appear, and evidently contained the wine used on such occasions.

Another, of which Northcote and Brownlow give a coloured illustration, represents a bird eating at a Eucharistic vessel. In this case, a red border of a peculiar type shows that the picture belongs to no date earlier than the middle of the third century. A further illustration from the crypts of Lucina exhibits a fish with a basket of bread upon it. There is some red colour on the side of the basket, or vessel, which is generally supposed to represent wine. The fish, or ΙΧΘΥΣ, was one of the earliest Christian symbols, and, as we have seen, went out of fashion in the fourth century. When the Eucharist changed its form this old hieroglyph, which was connected with the associations of a feast, would not be so well understood. Fish was a common food at the Agape, partly because it was easily obtained, and partly because our Lord had eaten it with His disciples. The letters of the Greek word for fish—ΙΧΘΥΣ—furnished also the initial letters of the Greek word for "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." Tertullian and other early writers spoke of Christians as "fishes," because they were "born in the water" of baptism.

Dr. Northcote is sure that another picture was intended to represent the "Eucharistic mystery," and we quite agree with him. It shows an ordinary three-legged table, on which is a dish with a fish and two loaves, with seven baskets of loaves on the ground. A fresco, taken from the cemetery of Callistus, represents a party of seven sitting at a semicircular table, with eight baskets of loaves, and two dishes or trays with fish. Dr. Northcote says that this scene commemorates the event recorded

in the last chapter of John. But in that case there were seven disciples and the Lord. We cannot say that Dr. Northcote is very fortunate in his argument *e silentio* which he uses to reply to this objection. He says: "It is not stated that He, himself, sat down and partook of the meat with them."* But the quantity of bread exhibited—eight baskets of loaves—would not be required for seven persons, and would not at all suit the Galilean occasion. There is no doubt that the "seven" represent a much larger company. It is better, therefore, to conclude, as Dr. Northcote does about a similar painting from Alexandria, which he says belongs to the third century, that the picture represents "the Eucharist in the form of the Agape."

The cemetery of Domitilla—niece of Vespasian, supposed to have been banished for her faith—on the Via Ardeatina, bears similar testimony to the features of the primitive communion. A ceiling covered with vine-tracery is of doubtful date. Its sections contain drawings of Noah and his ark, and of Daniel in the lions' den—frequent subjects of this early art, as were also other Old Testament scenes, such as Jonah and the fish, Abraham and Isaac at the altar, Moses striking the rock. Here there is a picture of two men at a table—again, a tripod, which seems to have been the "altar" of those times—and an attendant, without priestly garments, waits on the guests. It may be remarked that the attendant always stands behind the table.

In this series of tombs appears, again, a semicircular table at which four persons sit, with fish, loaves, flagons, and attendants. De Rossi supposes that this was intended to refer to "the banquet in heaven"! In a large chamber in the catacomb of Marcellinus is a picture of great interest. At a semicircular table sit three men, and at each end of the table a woman. An attendant stands by the tripod in front which has small loaves upon it, with a fish and flagon. Close by is a large wine-vessel. No one questions that this represents the Agape, though the date may be late in the third century, or

* It is almost certain that λαμβάνει τὸν ἄρτον, in John xxi. 13, implies that He first ate of the bread; cf. Matt. xxvi. 26.

the beginning of the fourth. On this picture are inscriptions, which, if they belong to the original, show that it is not a very early monument. The earliest inscriptions are in Greek, which was, for more than two centuries, the language of the Church in Rome. These inscriptions, however, are in Latin: "Irene, da calda" (Peace, give me hot water); "Agape, misce mi" (Love, mix for me). Of this monument, Mr. Withrow somewhat uncritically remarks: "Another beautiful institution generally associated with the celebration of the Eucharist in primitive times is that of the Agape or love-feast." "Generally" might mean an arbitrary and occasional observance rather than one that was invariable. The writer of an article in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (vol. i. p. 312) states that it "was a universal custom in the early Church" to celebrate the Eucharist at funerals, and that sometimes the consecrated bread was administered to the dead. By the "early Church" this writer means the Church of the fourth century rather than of the first or second. To such an occasion, he thinks, the striking picture in the cemetery of Marcellinus belongs. Augustine, early in the fifth century, declaims against the "gluttony" which sometimes marked those feasts. It was, ostensibly, in consequence of such disorders that the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 361) forbade the celebration of the Agape in churches; and that the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) condemned the custom in connection with funerals; and, finally, that the Council of Trulla condemned it wholly. Thus, in the eighth century, and not till then, the traces of the primitive apostolic Communion vanished from the usages of the Church.

There may be some ground for supposing that the Agape, represented in these monuments of the fourth century, do not exhibit the contemporary practice in connection with the Eucharist, but only a special observance at a funeral. On the picture referred to is the word "Valete" which confirms this view. From this we learn that after the Agape had been separated from its ordinary administration in churches, it yet maintained its association with the burial of the dead. An old custom will linger under special associations after its ordinary use has ceased. These pictures in the Catacombs

have, therefore, still an antiquarian interest. They display, no doubt faithfully, the features of the ancient "Communion" which was rapidly passing into oblivion.

The inscriptions are not the only historical data to be found in these ancient tombs. Personal relics abound. There are jointed dolls, bone and ivory—as though the toys of children had been left to amuse the dead—combs, mirrors, bracelets, bodkins, rings, and seals. Lamps are very frequent, adorned with figures of a dove, or a ship, or the sacred monogram A.O. But another relic has a yet higher significance. Small glass vessels have been placed in the mortar at the end of a *loculus* or *cubiculum*. One or more seemed to have been usually left, in the third century or the fourth, within the tomb. The upper part of these frail and brittle mementoes, through exposure, have generally been broken off, but the base, embedded in the mortar, has been preserved. This base was of special construction, consisting of two plates of glass, with a pattern in gold-leaf between. Sometimes the traces of a red fluid have been observed in those which have best survived the accidents of time.

What was the red liquid contained in these glasses? At one time it was not unnaturally thought that it might be blood. Some one had caught the blood of a martyr and, in this singular way, preserved his memorial. The Congregation of Relics (April 10, 1668) decided that these glasses with their precious tokens belonged to the tombs of martyrs. Further examination and reflection have not confirmed this pious opinion. These interesting relics are too numerous to justify the explanation given. Dr. Northcote says that an analysis of the matter contained in some cups proved it to be human blood. An analysis by other authorities demonstrates it to be wine. Dr. Northcote allows that they were drinking-cups, and that glass chalices were used at these anniversary celebrations. The early Christians could scarcely afford to use cups made of the precious metals, even if the later ideas of the exalted nature of the sacramental elements had begun to operate. There is thus supplied to us another witness to the character of the primitive Eucharist. It was a social feast as well as a sacred function. Its specific usages adhered to the

obsequies of the dead even after the general ecclesiastical form had changed. Most of these glasses appear, from their style, to have belonged to the third or fourth century, but they show a prolongation of an earlier use which had been universal.

The cases which we have selected are typical of an enormous collection of instances. A careful and impartial examination of them in the interests of historical science and of Christian truth has yet to be made. We do not disparage the labours of the Papal labourers in the cause, nor do we overlook the merits of such writers as Maitland and Withrow. But these writers are of necessity dependent on each other more or less, and an enlightened archæology will find ample reward in more systematic examination. It may also be remarked that English Christians have not yet fully understood the value of that appeal to the first two centuries of Church history which the "Reformers" made. The Tractarian development, unfortunately, initiated a false quest, and summoned every one to study the teachings of the "undivided Church" of the third and fourth centuries. Cyprian and Augustine were referred to as unquestionable authorities for all that was "apostolical" and "primitive." Earlier writers, such as Irenæus and Tertullian, were subjected to a "Catholic" interpretation. It was hoped that this method would frustrate the advance of Popery, and confound Dissent. But there are signs that the fatal effects of this tempting theory are beginning to be perceived. It has made the Anglican Communion a preserve for Romanism, and it has surrendered the evangelical Christianity of the New Testament to Nonconformists. The Archbishop of Canterbury has, in a recent address, eulogised Cranmer and Latimer as men of sense and learning and honour, and has reproved those who "finger the trinkets of Rome." But more than a passing sarcasm will be necessary to cure the evil that has arisen. It may need the learning of Cranmer and Erasmus, and the courage of Luther and Latimer, to save the Anglican Church from wreck amid those breakers whose growing murmur has roused Archbishop Benson to unwonted zeal for Protestantism. Yet the victory will be easy

if the appeal is made to the first century of the Church instead of the third; if Paul can be taken as a higher authority than Cyprian, and the Acts of the Apostles than Eusebins.

One great feature of the Anglican development has been the emphasis placed upon the doctrine and form of the Lord's Supper. The theory and practice of the Romish Church have been sedulously imitated. But this declension from apostolic truth and order would never have been accepted if the real history of the Eucharist itself had not been hidden. It had been forgotten that the Eucharist, for two centuries at least, had for its indispensable accompaniment a social meal; it was a "communion" indeed, a fellowship of saints, and not an ecclesiastical ceremony, or a sacerdotal function. The testimony of the Catacombs is that, during the period which their monuments illustrate, no other form of the "Eucharist" was thought worthy to be commemorated.

The questions relating to the exact period of the transition from the "Agape" to the "Eucharist," and its graduated yet rapid stages, involve discussions far too complex and extensive to be attempted in the present paper at least. It is enough that it can be demonstrated that the practice of "Fasting Communion" was unknown in the Church in the first two centuries of its history; that "Morning Communion" was not a "primitive" practice; and that the Eucharist, originally, was not a sacerdotal function but a symbol of the fellowship of believers in and with Christ their Lord.

ART. IV.—THE ETHICS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

1. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott.* From the original manuscript at Abbotsford. Two vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.
2. *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott.* Two vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.

“**T**IS sixty years,” and more, since the author of *Waverley* passed from among us, loved and lamented by many thousands who never saw his face; and during those sixty years many other poets who sang nobly and sweetly, many other novelists who counted their eager readers by hundreds of thousands, have earned their fame, enjoyed it, and departed, leaving great works for their memorial. But among these later writers, can we find more than one or two who, while living, inspired such widespread affectionate enthusiasm as their illustrious predecessor? can we find any whose hold on the reading public of to-day is stronger than his? and is there one for whom the same fond interest is awakened when any fresh light is thrown on the life whose story was told admirably “once for all,” soon after it ended? Such questions arise naturally on the mind as we turn over the delightful volumes lately issued of the *Familiar Letters* exchanged by Scott and certain of his relatives and friends during the sunny and strenuous years of hard work and happiness that intervened between his marriage in 1797 and the downfall of his fortunes in 1826.

Very few of these letters have previously been printed, though the names of their writers occur often enough in Lockhart's work; they come from the private hoards of other houses besides Abbotsford, and show us Sir Walter in correspondence with a wonderful variety of men and women more or less distinguished. As we read, a breathing, glowing picture of life moves before us, ampler horizons than those disclosed even by the *Life* expand around us, the sounds of fresh breezes blowing from hill and meadow mingle with those of eager voices that discuss the political, literary, social, and domestic

news of the day. But one clear manly voice holds our attention above the rest, one personality stands out always most strongly and attractively among the busy crowd. The sturdy, kindly, sagacious man of letters who failed no friend, and whose delicate tact, springing from the unselfish impulses of a heart almost womanly in its tenderness, never failed him, is set before us yet more perfectly than in the well-known bust by Chantrey, beautifully reproduced for the frontispiece of these volumes. There the sculptor has seized and made us see all that was most significant of intellectual and moral power in the domelike, massive head, the upright brow, the noble, homely features, with their wonderfully subtle expression of *bonhomie* and strength and lurking humour. It is Scott in all his simple greatness; but for the exquisite gentleness and goodness that accompanied the greatness we must turn to the written record, and neither in the *Life*, so finished and fine a piece of biography, nor in the *Journal*, that unequalled record of tragic distress and gallant endeavour, are these more evident than in the *Letters*, lately given as a new boon to the still numerous audience which finds in the *Waverley Novels* the kind of fiction it loves best—wholesome, strong, and clean; combining stirring action and dramatic situation, and all the higher qualities of romance, with that better kind of realism which consists in true yet tender handling of human character in all its infinite variety. It is pleasant to have fresh glimpses of the magician at his work of producing those grand stories, fresh insight into the sources whence he drew his materials, and to see once more in actual exercise the fine qualities of mind and heart which expressed themselves so spontaneously in the pure and high strain of principle and feeling found everywhere in the writings of the great master.

The two or three letters addressed before marriage to "Miss Carpenter," which show Scott to us in the character of a lover, and the slight allusions he permits himself here and elsewhere to the earlier attachment which saddened and ennobled his opening manhood, are worthy of notice in connection with that "fine reserve and noble reticence" with which he always handled the passion of love, and which contrast so strongly with the manner of that younger poet whose superiority Scott

would own with a frank enthusiasm he could not always win his friends to echo, whose genius delighted and awed him, and whose self-made misery he viewed with deep compassion untouched with scorn.

"Byron," writes Joanna Baillie in 1813,* *à propos* of *The Giaour*, "is satisfied with giving the energy of passion without its nobleness and grace . . . passion as he chooses to paint it is revolting"; and if with Scott we refrain from endorsing this judgment in all its severity, we may grant that the poet would sometimes lavish much pomp and prodigality of splendid diction on a feeling that he dignified with the name of Love, but represented rather as a mischievous and uncontrollable nature-force. A counter-influence was needed, and it was supplied by the robust and temperate teaching of him whose depth of feeling made him chary of expressing it to the full, and to whom that innocent ill-requited first love, which he would not permit to mar the wholeness of his life and disable him for natural duties and joys, proved indeed "a subtle master to teach high thoughts and amiable ways," and knightly reverence for womanhood. One may read all this between the lines of Scott's letters to the "Charlotte" whose gaiety and grace brightened many a year for him, and to whom he shunned not to unveil the heart-wound it was hers to heal. The persistent vitality of the youthful affection which had taught Scott the full value of romantic passion as a tragic motive has touching illustration in the *Journal*, where we see Scott, lonely, widowed, and fighting stiffly with Fate, shaken to the depths of his soul by the memories which renewed intercourse with the bereaved mother of his long-lost love can awaken; "matter of calm and solemn recollection" though they be, he shrinks from dwelling on them as one might shrink from rough handling of a fractured limb. But, with all this perilous intensity of feeling, he had known how to rule his own spirit, and it never seemed well to this man who "*was* man and master of his fate," to indulge his readers with luxurious lingerings on mere emotional details, or to flatter the dangerous notion that Love is a law to itself, and may at need override

* *Letters*, vol. i. p. 301.

Duty. He has told us many a tale of those who erred by "subjecting reason to desire," and not a few of the victims appeal strongly to our pitying admiration. But we are not allowed to forget that they helped to work their own wretchedness. The indulgence of an imperious inclination, to the neglecting of other claims, not less binding for being distasteful, is the prime mover of misery alike for the fair and fragile Lucy Ashton, the wilful and winning Effie Deans, and the Clara Mowbray of *St. Ronan's Well*, tragic and touching in her mental alienation, for the ill-starred Amy Robsart, whose figure stands out so vividly in the pageant-like historical tragedy of *Kenilworth*, and for the Eveline Neville, who moves, a dim elusive shape of ghostly fairness, in the dim background of *The Antiquary*; and Scott would seem to have held it as a binding duty to paint with stern fidelity, and with all the sombre hues his rich palette could supply, the woe that must result from the disregard of plain human duty, be the temptation to such error never so strong. There is something not a little amusing in the quiet obstinacy with which he held to such truth of representation, despite the lively remonstrances of accomplished correspondents, to whom "happy endings" were as dear as to the great mass of sentimental readers.

Vainly did Maria Edgeworth assert that for the gloomy conclusion of *St. Ronan's Well* "the author deserved to be carbonadoed;" vainly did Lady Louisa Stuart enter *her* protest against the ghastly incident lending the last touch of terror to the punishment awarded, in the *Heart of Midlothian*, to the perverse hero of the Porteus riot, whose doom is to perish by the hands of his own unhappy child. "Lame, huddled conclusions!" pronounced the friendly critics, who missed in each catastrophe the point of a terrible fitness, which rendered the supposition of careless haste in the author untenable. If the great novelist never presumed to attempt explanation of the mysteries of Providence, neither would he dare to misrepresent its clearest indications by failing to show what a grim harvest they may reap, who, in the pride of lawless youth, "sow to the flesh," reckless of what may follow. And, not content with merely deterrent examples, he has known how to invest with extraordinary charm characters of

that noble type which it is the theory of much modern fiction to disprize, characters capable of deep affection and measureless devotion, but always retaining self-mastery and self-respect amid "the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion," and always mindful of higher obligations. The spectacle of spiritual strife and victory in such souls inspired in him an interest so vivid that he could impart it to his readers, and not once or twice has he succeeded in the almost impossible task of "making the perfectly good character the most interesting;" while in defiance of the known tastes of his public he would dare to act on his own strong opinion that "a character of a highly virtuous and lofty stamp is degraded rather than exalted by an attempt to reward virtue with temporal prosperity," and would dismiss such a character, as in the case of the exquisite and unsurpassable Rebecca, not to commonplace happiness, but to a life of lonely self-devotion, being resolute that not from his writings should the young lovers of romance learn the "dangerous and fatal doctrine" that upright conduct and high principle will of necessity ensure the attainment of earthly joys, or of any other low reward than "that peace which the world cannot give or take away."

He who wrote thus may not be classed, as some to-day would class him, among those who are content to accept the "vulgar and superficial theory of reward's and punishments," despite the cordial appreciation of worldly blessings and of the qualities needed to win and keep them—courage, energy, immitigable will—which is not less manifest in his works, his letters, his journalisings, than in the salient facts of his career. Heartily as he prized material success he knew well that there are virtues much higher than those which obtain it, that there are characters of a dignity and purity not of this earth, and ill-fitted to rise to its high places, without whose saving presence society must swiftly and fearfully degenerate. To these, and to their Divine-Human Exemplar, he rendered the reverent homage of his heart; for these he sought to enlist the emulous admiration of others. If such characters are rare in his pages it is that they were of infrequent occurrence in life as he knew it. And if he thought too meanly of his own literary gifts and achievements, if he rated his great prose fictions as "a few *bits*

of novels," contemptible as a title to fame when compared with the epoch-making work of great soldiers and statesmen, he did not underrate the responsibilities of his position. For the public that crowded to the table he spread he would provide only the most wholesome fare, and would do his utmost to foster noble and serviceable virtues in his readers.

We may lightly dismiss, then, the often insinuated charge of "mercenary motives" on Scott's part, and may put aside the kindred suggestion that he had no very high ideal of human conduct. True, it was not his so much to paint domestic interiors by candlelight as to depict the many-hued panorama of out-door and public life, and he dwelt more complacently on noble manly qualities developed amid the storm and stress of great events and tempestuous changes of fortune than on gentler fireside virtues. But herein lay the secret of the health-inspiring power he exercised on a society that had learnt to prize refinement above purity, and that fed largely on romances where effeminate detail of sentimental distresses alternated with sensational horrors—a diet both enervating and corrupting. His part was to open wide the painted windows and shut doors of the stifling "chambers of imagery" which the fashionable romancers decorated for their readers, to let in fresh air and broad day, and disclose the ample landscape that lay without, laughing to the sun. They fared well who followed him as he strode away through field and valley—whether he led to towered city or lonely glen, or to "trenches, tents, cannon and culverin, and all the currents of a heady fight," such as were strangely dear to his own soul. "My heart is a soldier's, and always has been," wrote he in his fortieth year,* "though my lameness rendered me unfit for the profession, which, old as I am, I would rather follow than any other. But these are waking dreams in which I seldom indulge even to my kindest friends."

Honour to the brave spirit that could cheerfully banish the dearest dreams! But we may well thank the infirmity which bade Scott reap his laurels elsewhere than on the battle-field, and taught him the gentlest sympathy for those who, sufferers

* *Letters*, vol. i. p. 215.

like himself, could not follow him in rising superior to suffering. In *The Black Dwarf* he has made touching, half-unconscious revelation of intimate acquaintance with the special temptations of those who have been hardly used by Nature; and one may believe that this knowledge had something to do with his merciful judgment of just those errors in Byron into which he himself was never betrayed. "Deep sorrow and regret," for the self-destroyed genius, prevented Scott from echoing the passionate indignation with which Joanna Baillie wrote to him of Byron's conduct towards his wife; he could not believe callous selfishness and brutality to be consonant with the poet's *natural* character; he dwelt on the suffering which this greatly gifted spirit must endure, sunk in degradation, deprived of the "fair esteem" of the right-thinking and the pure! And he did not let slip the earliest opportunity that offered of publicly urging his generous plea for the great writer, so lately his successful rival, whose genius was indeed deeply shadowed with those "dark feelings often connected with physical deformity," which Scott himself had so steadily subdued, that indulgence in them seemed to him to savour of insanity.

"We gaze," he writes, "on the powerful and ruined mind which he presents to us, as on a shattered castle, within whose walls, once intended for nobler guests, sorcerers and wild demons are supposed to hold their Sabbath." He feared what the end might be; and "desiring," as was truly said of him, "to cheer the despair of a perishing mind, and rouse it to make some effort to save it from itself," he wrote that eloquent discriminating notice of the third part of *Childe Harold*,* in which he adduced every consideration that could be fairly be alleged on the author's behalf, with a zeal that gave umbrage in quarters where he would least have wished to be misconstrued.

There is painful interest in the passages referring to this matter in his correspondence with Joanna Baillie, and they please by showing Scott chivalrously anxious to respect Lady Byron's feelings to the utmost; but we willingly turn from them to note, in the letter already quoted, the energy with

* *Vide* article in *Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi. pp. 172-208.

which he protests against the too common notion that great literary ability disqualifies for "the ordinary occupations and duties of life." What if some spoiled children of genius have been "flattered and coaxed" into thinking themselves "a superior kind of automaton that ought to move by different impulses than others"? Are there not many greatly gifted men whose sober virtue gives the lie to such assumptions?

"There never were better men, and especially better husbands, fathers, and real patriots, than Southey and Wordsworth. . . . I myself, if I may rank myself in the list, am, as Hamlet says, indifferent honest, and at least not worse than infidel in caring for those of my own house," says he, who sturdily refused to claim for himself or his brother poets any immunity from obligations held binding on other men, who bent himself to discharge those obligations to the full—witness, *inter alia*, the stand-up fight with adverse fortune that he sustained when his younger brother's affairs "fell very suddenly into total and irretrievable disorder. He had been manager of the estates of the Marquis of Abercorn, and I," writes Scott to Miss Seward,* "was security to his employer for the regular payment of his rents. The consequence was . . . that the whole affairs of these extensive estates were thrown on my hands in a state of unutterable confusion." Ruin stared him in the face; but, aided by the intimate acquaintance with legal details which he had acquired unwillingly enough at his father's behest, and cheered by the "friendship and liberality of sentiment" evinced by Lord Abercorn, he grappled bravely with his difficulties, and could soon announce: "Lord Abercorn will sustain no loss, my own will be trifling, and something will even be saved out of the wreck of my brother's fortunes."

Over the interests of that brother and his family Walter Scott watched thenceforth with a really paternal solicitude, marred by no touch of resentment for the "ill-timed speculations" on Thomas Scott's part, which had involved his elder in "distress of a kind which least of all he was able to bear," and yet bore so gallantly. As soon as the Abercorn entanglements were unravelled and the prospects of his brother cleared,

* *Letters*, vol. i. p. 76.

Scott resumed work on that unfinished *Marmion* for which Constable had been willing to advance £1000, and completed his task with that splendid glow of martial enthusiasm which made an unfriendly critic confess the "battle-piece" of Flodden Field "to be the noblest save in Homer." In the whole incident is a foreshadowing of that later day of heavier distress, when Scott set himself sternly to the task of wiping off, all unaided, more appalling liabilities, with powers perhaps not so elastic, but with a courage as high and a will as indomitable as when, in 1807, he steered his own bark and his brother's clear of shipwreck. How difficult was that earlier enterprise has never been made quite so evident as now, and the revelation is welcome.

We need not doubt the entire sincerity of Scott's prayer that no further occasion might arise to make him plague himself with "all the endless train of complicated chicanery by understanding which one part of mankind enable themselves to live at the expense of the sons of fortune;" yet the intimate knowledge forced on him of such contentious and litigious matters served him well when he came to portray the manners of his countrymen, and in the vivid pictures of legal complications and family troubles consequent thereon that enliven the pages of *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*, and others of the purely Scottish romances, we may see the trying personal experiences just referred to turned to good account. There is for us more life-likeness and interest in the bold front which some of Scott's heroes oppose to adverse fortune, and in their hard-won victory over it, when we see how their cheerful energy, and the success crowning their efforts in the cause of honour and duty, are faint transcripts from their creator's own character, and from events that had taken place already in a career commonly imagined as an unbroken course of prosperity till the dark events of 1825-6 overshadowed it.

No figure exactly like his own is to be found indeed among the many noble manly shapes he drew, though we may so far endorse the judgment of the Ettrick Shepherd that "Colonel Mannering is just Walter Scott, painted by himself," as to find some traits of the real in the fictitious character—the prompt decision and the dreamy romance, the courtesy and the pride,

the rare sternness and the heartfelt tenderness, and the slight fanciful tincture of superstition. Yet there is something delightful beyond what even Scott could invent, touches of playful humour and of simple-sweet affection out-doing anything ascribed to Mannering, in the series of letters relating to the wooing and the wedding of Walter Scott the younger—the stately young soldier so curiously devoid of literary proclivities, whose creditable military career his father watched with fond complacency, seeing his own hopeless youthful longings realised for his son. Lockhart has given the episode in its proper place; yet all his skill has failed to reproduce the *naïf* charm with which Sir Walter's own pen invests it. The pretty love story dawns on us first in unromantic fashion when Scott writes to his heir in the new character of a matchmaker, he representing, as he says, “the worshipful Master Shallow” of the first scene in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, his old friend Sir Adam Ferguson being the Sir Hugh Evans, and the young heiress of Lochore, Miss Jobson, who has been dining at Abbotsford with aunt and uncle Ferguson, standing for sweet Anne Page. “Suppose yourself Master Abraham Slender,” says the father in preface of the announcement that the little heiress's temporary guardians have made quiet intimation that *if* young Lieutenant Scott should try to recommend himself to the shy, sweet maiden whom many suitors have sought in vain, he might have some chance of success. Sir Walter's references to these advances, and to the advantages of such a match for both parties, are marked by careful abstinence from any word that could compromise the timid girl, or hint at her faithful remembrance of the “kindness there had been” two years before, between herself and the wooer now half invited to come forward. But when it proves that the tender recollection was equally strong on both sides, when the orthodox amount of difficulty has been surmounted and the marriage happily arranged, the father's joyous satisfaction overflows irrepressibly as he writes gaily to this friend and that, dwelling on the details of the little drama just enacted, and sketching with swift brush-strokes each personage concerned. There lives before us the bride's widowed mother, the fine old-fashioned Scottish lady, high-

principled and generous, though "rather straitly laced in her Presbyterian stays," who can scarce be reconciled at first to her child's wedding with "a soldier and a hussar, who *must* be a rake of course," and who, when at last convinced to the contrary, yields with a good grace, wholly and heartily. A fitting pendant to this noble motherly old figure is that of the pretty bride, whose "little, innocent, pensive-looking face" masks a good deal of quiet constancy and resolution, who does not sacrifice filial duty to affection, but contrives to conciliate them, and whose singular truthfulness, honesty, and simplicity amid the trials of her courage and faithfulness so win upon her father-in-law that he writes fondly even of her shy defects of manner which he trusts to improve away, and seems anxious above all to ensure that she shall never regret the sacrifices she has made to "follow the camp" with her bridegroom. That lucky hussar is more lightly touched on, the writer holding in his fatherly partiality with a firm hand; yet he allows himself to dwell lovingly on the steadiness, the severity even, of his son's principles, on the certainty of his loving and cherishing the wife who has so generously trusted him. It is allowed that he is provokingly careless as to his movables, that his manners suffer from invincible *mauvaise honte*, that he has "a holy horror of everything which he considers highly gifted with talent"; but pride in his simple soldierly excellences shines through every word of mock dispraise written on his behalf to Lady Louisa Stuart, or to Miss Edgeworth, or to the Mrs. Hughes, in whom we find with great pleasure not only one of Scott's most affectionate friends, but the worthy ancestress of the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*.

The charming letters in which "little affectionate nonsense" mingles with more serious matter, with which Scott followed his new daughter in her wanderings, show that he held her in high respect, which becomes more marked as the tender gallantry of the earlier letters melts into the fatherly frankness of the later ones. It is to his "dearest Jane" that he writes very touchingly and openly of the deprivation that is coming on him through Lockhart's promotion to the editorship of the *Quarterly*, which will take the young household from Chiefswood to London, will put an end to the free happy family

intercourse that had made Sophia Scott's marriage an addition to her father's comforts, and will divide him at last from the gentle daughter who "never in her life gave him five minutes' vexation." There must be no yielding to "selfish regret," yet it is a solace to speak of this impending loss to one whose sense and discretion can safely be trusted. The cheerful pages of this letter are just touched by the shadow of sorrow; it is more darkly visible in the last of the series and the volume, written to apprise Jane of the "sudden and severe indisposition" which laid Scott low on the Christmas Day just before the great storm of his troubles broke on him. The very tone of the *Journal* is heard in these words:

"Shall we receive good at God's hands and shall we not receive evil? If I am a bad divine and a worse philosopher, I hope I am not ignorant of the advantages I have enjoyed, or unreasonably impatient under the increasing infirmities which must attend old age, and which in my case have been longer delayed than in that of many of my contemporaries. Besides, have I not all of you, my dear children, loving each other and affectionate to me, to comfort me under such circumstances?"

And, that no anxious gloom may linger on the mind of his gentle correspondent, he encloses to her the gallant glorious "verses to the tune of *Bonnie Dundee*" which he had "thrown off" when convalescent, "having no spirits for serious business," and which he accompanies with instructions as to how Jane may make "a sort of little mystery and favour" of letting distinguished friends have a copy of the same. "What people think they cannot easily come by they always consider as a compliment, though it is not worth having. It requires almost no setting," adds he—and here is one of his bits of acute self-criticism—"for I, who have no ear, or almost none, for *tune*, have a perfect ear for *time*, and never wrote a verse in my life for a measure with which I was familiar which was not perfectly adapted to it."

There follow some counsels to Jane, who has a pretty voice for Scottish songs, as to the right style of giving *this* song, a few half-suppressed regrets as to the contrast between *this* Christmas and last, when Jane's love-affairs were in agitation amid festivities such as Scott's Abbotsford was not to know again, and we read no more of a correspondence which, better perhaps

than kindred passages in the *Life*, acquaints us with the secret of Sir Walter's success in managing his young people, and of his happy relations with them—relations which inspired him to produce some of his most touching pictures of human life. The ingenious critic, Mr. Adolphus, who, while yet it was the whim of the author of *Waverley* to keep up his *incognito*, traced out the countless traits that identified him as Walter Scott, dwelt with good reason on the many passages in the acknowledged poems and the unacknowledged novels where the close and tender ties between "a fond father and an affectionate daughter" are insisted on; and the romances produced after his clever argument from circumstantial evidence had appeared might have supplied him with fresh illustrations of this peculiarity. Witness not only in *Woodstock* the pathetic group of Sir Henry Lee and his daughter Alice, in *Peveril* of the enthusiast Bridgenorth and his fair and faithful child, but, in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, the strongly-painted death scene of the old miser, Trapbois, redeemed from sordid horror by the fierce filial passion in the murdered man's stern, harsh, ungainly daughter, who rises to tragic majesty in the transport of her grief for the father whom she loves without respecting.

Here we may note one of many instances in which incidents, such as might have been derived from the Newgate Calendar, and described with the vulgar sensationalism of a police report, show themselves under the Master's handling rich in the moral picturesque. It is a brutal murder that has been committed by common thieves for greed of gain, and the victim is one of whom earth is well rid; but attention is concentrated on the intense human feeling aroused, not on the wretched details of the deed, which are so touched as to heighten the pathetic effect of the bereaved woman's rage of sorrow, and almost to make us share it while we shudder at it.

In order fully to appreciate the great artist's skill and his fine sense of moral and æsthetic fitness, we need only mark what a deep and thrilling sense of awe and pity is left on the mind by this and similar passages—notably in the *Heart of Midlothian*, *The Antiquary*, and *Guy Mannering*—where Scott deals with guilty mysteries, with crime and criminals; and compare it with the unhealthy excitement ministered by what

we may call our modern detective romances, where the plot is everything, and the development of character nothing. It is our human sympathy that is strongly appealed to in the one case, loathing for an evil deed being heightened by vivid presentation of the complicated misery it may cause, of the wretched estate of the evildoers; it is but a heartless, an almost malign curiosity that is stimulated in the other, and it is much if our admiration be not equally invited for the daring felon or adroit impostor whose doublings we are asked to follow, and for the astute agents employed in tracking him down, mere moral or humane considerations being quietly ignored.

The difference between such a method and that preferred by the author of *Waverley* is the more noteworthy because Scott, bred to the Bar, had a keen interest in the darker sort of human transactions, and could divine the secrets of guilt with the sagacity of a professional advocate, as is evident in his comments, addressed to Adam Ferguson, on the mysterious "murder of Begbie," the Edinburgh porter slain in the open street and in broad day by a single stab, and plundered of the great sum with which he was charged. There was proof of deep premeditation; and "the precaution and desperation of the deed," suggested to Scott that the offender was "in the better ranks of life, and very likely on the verge of bankruptcy, that awful interval when the best of men are apt to become flurried, and those who are naturally bad quite desperate." Circumstances that soon came to light seemed to show that he was right as to the character, position, and motives of the murderer; but the suspected person committing suicide, certainly became impossible. The incident had a long-enduring fascination for Scott, as an unsolved psychological puzzle, but he never made literary capital of it; such use would have necessitated the fixing of attention too exclusively on the career, the feelings, the doom of a base reprobate, and the story would not have lent itself so aptly to his transforming hand as did some others that he learned professionally—witness the "Dormont case" which, plainly stated by Scott to Lady Abercorn,* resembles nothing so much as one of the compli-

* *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 293-295.

cated unpleasant romances dear to the readers of the penny novelette, while its disappointing conclusion recalls some high-class and irritating American fictions. Yet this Scottish law case suggested much of the plot of *Guy Mannering*, and it is interesting to compare the two, and note how the more odious features of the real life-story have been effaced, and particulars either touching or picturesque selected for use. A yet more triumphant transfiguration must have been worked by the same magical touch in the domestic tragedy which, coming under Scott's notice as sheriff, is supposed to have given him the idea of *St. Ronan's Well*. "Anything more dreadful," says Lockhart, "was never conceived by Crabbe," and it lost nothing of its appalling effect as Scott narrated it; but he would not "elaborate such a tale" for the public, to which he gave instead a story well fitted "to purify the soul by pity and terror," but never, even in the last "shudderingly fine scene" producing horror. This just perception of what could be wisely used for artistic purposes, with the rich and happy humour that brightens many a page of his saddest stories, always saved Scott's work from meriting such strictures as he himself passed on some of Lockhart's stories, notably on *Matthew Wald*—"full of power, but disagreeable; a painful story, very forcibly told; and the worst is that there is no resting-place, nothing but misery from title-page to finis."

With certain reserves, such a condemnation might apply to some recent fiction of a far higher class than that to which we have already referred; some of our brilliant popular novelists preferring too often to work the vein struck by Lockhart, and wasting, seemingly of malice prepense, much splendid imaginative power on stories as disagreeable as *The Confessions of Adam Blair*, and ending as "vilely ill" as *Matthew Wald*; painful examples of this perversity might be adduced from the work of writers so highly endowed as Thomas Hardy and Rudyard Kipling, and they abound in that of less famous penmen. Here is matter for complaint; but there is more in the accompanying indications that both here and in America certain gifted minds are not only imbued with the opinion, long held across the Channel, that all transactions are equally fit to be artistically treated with the same fulness of detail,

but are themselves penetrated with that paralysing pessimism which their gloomy pictures are fitted to inspire in those who study them ; for some of this school have defended their methods by affirming that life is the ugly mystery they depict, and ought to be so painted, or not at all.

It is open to us, however, to dispute the wisdom and the truthfulness of such ignoble realism, and to think *that* the more excellent way followed by Scott, who drew life as he saw it and knew it, but with the same judicious reservations that ruled his own conduct. He shunned not to paint such sinister figures and transactions as came under his notice in courts of law, and spared not to tell of the distressful chances from which "the whitest virtue" does not exempt its possessor ; but these darker elements were allowed to shadow his work as little as they clouded his life ; for better things was reserved the chief place in both. Very much of this we must credit to the sound judgment and happy nature of the man, and something to the many true and noble friendships which acquainted him with human excellence in all ranks of life, confirmed him in his strong natural bent to deem kindly of his fellow-creatures, encouraged the trembling hope with which he thought on their mysterious destiny, and supplied him with much of the material for his great portrait-gallery of strongly characterised delightful figures. No one who makes in these *Letters* acquaintance at first hand with the models from which he drew will dispute the truthfulness of his many pictures of manly worth and womanly grace, brilliancy, and tenderness, in the higher walks of life ; the admirable fidelity of his representations of humbler virtue needs no outside evidence, but it is sufficiently supplied by the *Life* and the *Journal* ; and we may thank him for never compelling his readers to closer intimacy with rascality in fiction than he would have tolerated himself with the reality in any rank.

For many a year after Scott had left us our literature maintained the high level to which he raised it, and his influence might be traced in the manly, pure, and healthy tone of our greater novelists, who would not, as Miss Brontë finely says of Thackeray, "stoop on carrion ;" though both in Thackeray's work and that of Dickens there was too little of the

breezy out-of-door atmosphere of the *Waverley Novels*, and too much of the thrice-breathed air of great cities; and though the "bitter satire, and relentless dissection of diseased subjects" alleged against the one, the morbid sentiment and overcharged caricature of the other, seemed to savour of less wholesome conditions of life, yet they and their disciples remained fairly true to the great tradition of working for the real benefit of their readers; they did not show themselves hopeless of their race or morose in judging it. Whence is the subtle change that has come over the face of things, as though a miasma from some "unwholesome fen" of the mind had poisoned the imaginations of certain brilliant purveyors of fiction, creating a diseased sensibility to every hint of sinister significance in the phenomena of the visible world, or in the complex nature and unequal fortunes of humankind? It is not that these mysteries never appalled the heart of the more hopeful and cheerful masters who preceded them. We may see Scott himself fascinated, almost to terror, by the dark possibilities of life, when one frightful casualty threw a ghastly light for him on the slight tenure by which we hold our health and reason, and another sadder revelation came of the black guilt hidden under the fair smooth exterior of one who "seemed the soul of honour—laughed, too, and was the life of society," and wrung from the observer the cry, "It is a mercy our own thoughts are concealed from each other. Oh, if at our social tables we could see what passes in each bosom around, we would seek dens and caves to shun human society!" For *him*, however, there was a refuge in the thought of the Almighty benevolent Sovereign of the universe, to whom, without fear of rejection, he could make the appeal, "Lord, keep us from temptation, for we cannot be our own shepherd!" and the like simple faith was firmly held by those who were Scott's worthy successors without being in any sense his imitators, and who knew not less than he of the gloomier side of life, and were not less impressed by it. Is it not because the saving belief, so precious to them, has been more and more ignored by the modern school, since writers like George Eliot preached of morality deriving no support from religious hope and trust, that we are in some danger of seeing a literature of despair,

enfeebling and demoralising, taking the place of the stronger, grander work, which is to this what good bone and muscle-making diet is to absinthe and morphia?

"There is a God, and a just God," says Scott,* "a judgment and a future life; and all who own so much let them act according to the faith that is in them." According to that faith he did act, holding himself answerable to a just God for the use of the talent entrusted to him; and the quality of his work is such as beseems a faithful man. Those who hold themselves accountable to no giver save blind fortune for their gift of genius, and who see the destinies of their race so overclouded by unkind fate that no effort can darken or brighten them—is it wonderful that they should claim freedom to write, with irresponsible licence, on any and every theme? But always the nobler and better path remains—that chosen by Walter Scott.

ART. V.—THE CENSUS REPORT.

Census of England and Wales. Vol. IV. General Report, with Summary Tables and Appendices. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1893.

THE bulk of this volume consists of an exceedingly interesting and quite invaluable series of summaries, classifications, and analyses of the masses of statistics contained in the three previous volumes with respect to the number, the distribution, the density, the migrations, habitations, and occupations, the age, the sex; the physical, domestic, and social condition of the population of England and Wales. For purposes of comparison, corresponding particulars are appended with respect to Scotland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom; and the Report is not inappropriately closed by a bird's-eye view of the British Empire as a whole.

The area and population chiefly dealt with, and indeed the

* *Journal*, vol. i. p. 45.

area and population of the whole United Kingdom, are almost insignificant when compared with the area and population over which our Queen holds sway. The area of the United Kingdom is only 121,069 square miles. The area of the Empire is eleven millions. It is nearly three times as large as Europe; almost as large as Africa, and comprises a fifth of the land surface of the globe. The population of vast tracts of this widely scattered territory can be only roughly estimated, but according to the latest and most careful calculations the aggregate inhabitants of the Empire in 1891 amounted to nearly 372 millions. Of this enormous aggregate 93,505,155 are "within our protectorates and spheres of influence," and 240,587,167 "in our colonies and dependencies." The remaining 37,732,922 are the enumerated population of the United Kingdom. Of these, 29,002,525 were returned as residing in England and Wales, 4,025,647 in Scotland, and 4,704,750 in the Emerald Isle. So that if, as we have been told, "the population of the United Kingdom is a mere fraction of the population of the Empire," the "predominant partner" nevertheless is likely to claim his due from the other partners, seeing that, when combined, they make up "a mere fraction" of the fraction which represents his proportion of population. Another fact to be noted in the way of comparison is that, during the past ten years, one of the two fragments of this fraction has been positively and the other relatively decreasing. In the United Kingdom there was an increase of 2,848,074, or 8·2 per cent. But in Ireland there was a decrease of 470,086, or 9·1 per cent.; and in Scotland the increase was only 7·8 against 11·2 in the previous decade. The increase in England and Wales was 3,028,086, or 11·7 per cent., the lowest rate of increase during the century, the average being 14·00. The next lowest rate occurred in 1851-61, the decennium of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny.

This slackening in the rate of increase in the English population was due partly to a falling-off in the natural increment from excess of births over deaths, but chiefly to an increase in the excess of emigrants over immigrants. As compared with the previous census the natural increase showed a decline of

290,069, and the loss from excess of emigration amounted to 601,388, a loss considerably greater than the aggregate losses from the same cause in the three previous decennia. The decline in the natural increment was not due to increased mortality, the mean annual death-rate in 1881-91 being the lowest on record, but to a decrease in the birth-rate, which also was unprecedentedly low. The causes of this decline in the rate of births are so obscure, and possibly so numerous, that it is difficult to form a reasonable conjecture on the subject. The departure from our shores of more than a million and a half of emigrants, most of them presumably at reproductive ages; the increasing mental strain and social-economic pressure of the times; the increasing aggregation of the people in the towns, where the proportion of women to men is much higher than in the country—in the towns, it is 109 to 100, and in the country 101 to 100—and, therefore, the chances of marriage much smaller; and, not least perhaps, the wide dissemination in recent years of so-called Malthusian doctrines are amongst the causes that might plausibly be suggested of this ominous and unexpected slackening in the rate of English births.

The tendency at present is towards fewer marriages, and the annual fertility of married life is not increasing but diminishing in most European communities, and in the United States. Which of the sexes is responsible for the very noticeable falling-off in the English marriage rate in recent years does not appear; but it is a remarkable coincidence that the misstatements with respect to their age which have made it so difficult to obtain accurate returns are not so numerous as formerly. In each successive census the number of women returning themselves as between twenty and twenty-five is actually larger than the number of girls returned ten years earlier as between ten and fifteen, which, of course, is absurd. For some reason—probably with an idea of increasing their chances of marriage—women have always manifested a desire to appear younger than they are. In the census papers they have usually drawn the line at twenty-five. The remarkable fact is that the amount of misstatement under this head has been “gradually but unmistakably” diminishing. No clearer evidence of the growing aversion to marriage on the part of

English and Welsh women could possibly be produced than the fact that "the excess due to misstatement which was 7·2 per cent. in 1851 has now fallen to 4·9."

Thanks, however, to the previous steady increase in the English birth-rate, and to the marked decline since 1841 in the rate of deaths, the falling-off in the rate of natural increment is quite exceptional. It is only as compared with the previous census that the returns for 1881-91 show any decline; compared with any earlier intercensal period since 1841, the natural increase is still in excess. Moreover, as already stated, notwithstanding this recent and not easily explicable slackening in the growth of population, the principal partner continues to maintain, and even to increase, its predominance in the United Kingdom:

"In 1821, when the first complete census of the United Kingdom was taken, 57·4 per cent. of the aggregate population were inhabitants of England and Wales, 10 per cent. were inhabitants of Scotland, and 32·6 per cent. were living in Ireland. But at each of the successive censuses since that date the percentage residing in England and Wales has increased, while the percentage residing in Ireland has as continuously declined, the Scotch proportion remaining practically unchanged, such alteration as has occurred being in the direction of increase. The total result of these successive changes was, that in 1891 the English and Welsh proportion had risen to 76·8 per cent. and the Scotch proportion to 10·7 per cent., while the Irish share had fallen to 12·5; or, in round numbers, three-quarters of the population were living in England and Wales, one-ninth in Scotland, and one-eighth in Ireland."

In the light of the figures setting forth the constituent parts of the population, the "bugbear of foreign immigration" loses half its terrors, and the "union of hearts" is illustrated by them in a rather curious way. Nearly eight and twenty of the nine and twenty millions, or 961 in every thousand of the population of England and Wales, were natives, the rest having been born in Ireland and Scotland and "other foreign lands." Of real foreigners there were only 198,113: Asiatics, 1804; Africans, 1062; Americans, 26,226; Europeans, 168,814. Among these Europeans there were only 90,795 males between the age of 15 and 65, and 15,000 of these were sailors; so that only about 75,000 adult male European foreigners all told, including Swiss, Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, Russians,

Dutchmen, Slavs, and Scandinavians, many of whom were scattered all over the land, could possibly have come into competition with our countrymen. Nor does the designation "pauper aliens," fit these foreigners, if we may judge from these returns. By far the largest proportion of them live in London, and the poorest of them live in the East End, and yet, "of the 36,871 European foreigners residing in that quarter, only 105, or 2·85 per 1000, were inmates of the workhouses, while, out of the other 668,243 inhabitants, 9050, or 13·5 per 1000, were pauper inmates." As for the remaining elements in the population, not much need be said. About 30,000 born in the Isle of Man and in the Channel Islands, 4305 "born at sea," and 111,627 "natives of India and of other dependencies and colonies," were found to be resident with us. The increase from the islands named was only 3·6 per cent., but the increase from the other parts of the empire amounted to 18·3 per cent. By far the largest number of these were found to have been born in Scotland and Ireland, the former country having sent us 282,271, as against 253,528 in 1881; and the latter 458,315, as against 562,374. The relative attractiveness of the three parts of the kingdom to their own people and to the natives of some of the other parts may be gathered from the following tables:

I. Natives of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland living in England and Wales.

	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Born in England and Wales)	15,441,530	17,165,656	19,120,052	21,692,165	24,885,922	27,882,629
" Scotland	203,768	130,087	169,202	215,254	253,528	282,271
" Ireland	290,891	519,959	601,634	566,540	562,374	458,315

II. Natives of England and Wales living in Scotland and Ireland.

	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Living in Scotland	37,796	46,791	56,032	70,482	91,823	111,045
" " Ireland	21,553	34,454	50,936	67,599	69,382	74,523

From which it would appear that, whilst Scotland and England have been steadily and uniformly becoming more and more attractive to each other, and whilst Ireland has been steadily and in increasing volume attracting the people of England, England and Wales, ever since the "seventies," have been losing their charms for Irishmen, until in 1891 the census shows a falling off of Irish natives living on this side of St. George's Channel, as compared with the number in 1881, of 104,059, or 18 5 per cent. On which phenomenon let experts exercise their powers.

Though emigration to foreign countries increased enormously between 1881 and 1891, there does not appear to have been any corresponding increase in the migration of the people within the borders of England and Wales. In 1881 no less than 75·19 per cent. of the population were enumerated in their native counties, and 74·86 per cent. in 1891. It is clear, therefore, that, in spite of agricultural depression, fluctuations in industry, and increasing facilities for communication and migration, the habits of the people are still stationary in a very marked degree. The counties that retain most of their native population are, as might be expected, those in which there is most remunerative occupation. Lancashire, *e.g.*, retains more than 90 per cent., and Yorkshire, Durham, and Glamorganshire more than 80 per cent. The counties that retain fewest are those which are either very small or devoid of mines and factories. Even Radnorshire and Rutland kept fewer than 50 per cent., and the numbers are about the same for Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, and Brecknockshire.

Within the counties themselves, however, there has been a marked migration from the hamlets and the villages to towns and cities, and from some of the rural districts in most of the counties to the Metropolis. Owing to the changes which have been made in the boundaries of urban and of rural districts since 1881 it is difficult to say exactly what has been the relative increase in the two kinds of population. Both the urban and the rural population has increased, but the increase of the former has been enormously larger than the increase of the latter. According to the different methods

employed the estimated urban increase ranged from 15·4 to 16·4 per cent., and that of the rural population from 2·98 to 4·57 per cent. The actual numbers were 20,895,504 in the urban, and 8,107,021 in the rural districts, the proportion being 258 to 100 as against 212 to 100 in 1881.

The Welsh and bordering counties seem to have contributed most to the "Rural Exodus," the other English counties most affected being Lincolnshire, the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, Cornwall, Bedfordshire, and Wiltshire. What has become of the Welsh rural surplus is apparent from the, for them, phenomenal increases in some of the Welsh towns—Newport, *e.g.*, by 14,000, or 42·2 per cent.; Ystradyfodwg by 33,000, or 58·8 per cent.; Cardiff by 46,000, or 55·8 per cent. Liverpool is the only great English town that reports a decrease. Manchester has added no less than 140,000, and London nearly 400,000. For the first time this century the growth of the Metropolis has received a check, the rate of increase (10·4) being perceptibly lower than that for the country as a whole. But a word of explanation is here needed.

A check to the growth or even a positive decline in the population of a great town does not necessarily imply a decline in its prosperity. It may imply the opposite. Warehouses and business premises or modern dwelling-houses may have taken the place of ordinary houses or of slums, and the displaced inhabitants, as well as the new-comers, may have taken up their abode outside the recognised town limits. This process is manifest in all the larger towns and cities, and it is conspicuous and notorious in each of the great centres named. Manchester is no exception: it is rather an illustration; for the increase at this census (9·3), following a decrease at the previous enumeration of 2·8 per cent., is largely accounted for by the fact that what were suburbs in 1881 are now included in the municipal area. If the suburbs of Liverpool had been brought within its exceedingly limited municipal boundaries, the census, instead of showing a decrease of 6·2, would have returned an increase of 5·83 per cent. So with respect to London. The most contradictory statements might be made with equal truth respecting the population of London. There

are several Londons. There is the London of the Registrar-General and the London County Council, the London of the Metropolitan Police District, and the still larger London which extends beyond these areas in ever-increasing dimensions but for which as yet we have no name. In London proper, or Registration London, the population was 4,211,743, an increase of 396,199, or 10·4 per cent.; but in all the central portions of this circle, such as the City, the Strand, Westminster, Holborn, St. Giles's, St. George's (Hanover Square), there have been large, continuous, and, in some cases, enormous decreases during the past three decennia, the total decrease in the thirty years amounting to 13·9 per cent. In all the other districts of Inner London there has been an increase, slight in those bordering on the central area, and much larger in the remoter districts, the whole group showing an increase of 17·5 as against 29·8 and 29·3 per cent. in the two preceding decennia. When we come to outer London, we find that though there has been no decrease there has been a slight slackening in the rate of progress. Quite a rampart of towns of the first magnitude has been formed around the capital within living memory, and during the past decade the progress of many of them has been prodigious. Leyton has sprung up from 27,026 to 63,056; Willesden, from 27,613 to 61,265; Croydon, from 78,811 to 102,695; West Ham, from 128,953 to 204,903; and Tottenham, from 36,574 to 71,343. But here again there has been a slight falling off in the rate of increase—from 50·8 per cent. in 1871 to 50·5 in 1881 and 49·5 in 1891—and, as in the inner circle, the further you get from the centre the larger has been the increase, Willesden and Leyton, *e.g.*, having grown during the last ten years at the rate respectively of 121 and 133 per cent. It would seem, therefore, as if even this outer belt of suburbs were showing signs of repletion, and that the tendency is still outwards. "Were the inquiry to be extended to a still wider area, we should possibly find that there was a further ring of districts outside the Police area in which the gradual filling up of the central areas was causing more and more active growth." From all that has been said under this head, it is evident that the great centres of population in the future will be not so

much urban as suburban, and that London, in particular, will spread itself out farther and farther into the home counties, and combine within itself in an ever greater degree the advantages of town and country life.

Meanwhile, the need of wider breathing-space and ampler elbow-room is demonstrated once again by these returns. In spite of the thinning-out process described above, Inner London still contains 35,998 persons to the square mile as compared with 88 in Westmoreland and 1938 in the thickly populated County Palatine, and its houses contain an average of 7.72 persons as compared with the houses in manufacturing towns like Bolton, Bradford, Sheffield, and Leicester with their average of five. Speaking of the country as a whole, it is estimated that no fewer than 3,258,044 persons, forming 11 per cent. of the population, are living in overcrowded tenements, 640,410 of them having only one room, and 2,416,617 only two rooms. The bulk of the people, however—a little over half—live in tenements of more than four rooms. The villagers, of course, are much better off than the townsmen, "four-roomed cottages being a very common type of dwelling in villages." The counties where overcrowding most prevails (omitting London) are Northumberland and Durham, where the miners appear to be wretchedly housed. Among the towns, Gateshead stands at the head of the black-list with a percentage of overcrowded persons of 40.78, and Portsmouth at the bottom with a percentage of 1.74. Local causes there must be for these phenomena—probably local peculiarities of land-tenure; but the differences are very marked and very puzzling. The contrast between Bradford and Leicester, for instance, or between Portsmouth and Plymouth is very striking. "Portsmouth and Plymouth would appear to be towns having much resemblance to each other in their general character; yet in Portsmouth less than 2 per cent. of the population are overcrowded while in Plymouth the percentage is over 26. Leicester and Bradford, again, are two large industrial towns, both engaged in textile manufactures; for the former the percentage is 2.22, and for the latter 20.61, or nearly ten times as high." One-fourth of the overcrowding in England and Wales is set down to London, the number living

in these teeming "tenements with more than two persons to a room" being 830,182 for the Metropolis and 2,427,862 for the rest of the country. If we exclude the miles on miles of under-crowded mansions, terraces, and squares, and the miles on miles of tolerably-tenanted houses, what must be the state of things in many of the overcrowded quarters when the average of overcrowding for the whole of London is nearly 20 per cent. of the population? As overcrowding is, under certain conditions, a legal offence, it is probable that the returns are under rather than over the truth. From these deplorable statistics it is only too evident that social reformers, in spite of their laborious efforts, are still ineffectually grappling with their philanthropic but Herculean task. The Housing of the People problem has been revived and made more startling but not less complex or much easier of solution by these grimly luminous returns. The "tragic truth," however, will have served a useful purpose if it rouses interest, awakens sympathy, and clears the way, however slightly, for more systematic and persistent effort in the time to come.

The widespread interest in industrial and social questions and the happily growing demand for accurate and detailed information has led to a more and more elaborate and careful classification of the population by their occupations. So unsatisfactory, however, are the data furnished by the census that the compilers of the report, while they "fully sympathise with those economists who cry out for fuller and more detailed information, are distinctly of opinion that such information cannot be obtained by the machinery of an ordinary census, and in this judgment we are in agreement with those statisticians who have been engaged in the censuses of foreign countries." But are not our economists and journalists a little too exacting, and are not statisticians apt to aim at an impossible perfection? The division of labour has gone so far, and the changes in the industries and occupations are so numerous and so rapid that it would need an army of enumerators constantly employed to produce an occupation census more complete and accurate than the splendid piece of work contained in this report. In five and twenty teeming pages Dr. Ogle and Sir Brydges Henniker have presented a picture of the people at their work which

if not so detailed as economists demand, is, in broad outline, all that could be looked for or desired. The various classes, professional, domestic, agricultural, commercial, and industrial are set before us in a style so graphic and suggestive that we note with much regret the fast approaching limits of our space. A rapid summary is all we can attempt.

For the most part the "unemployed" are not separately enumerated; they are included in the numbers of the classes to which they belong. The exceptions are the aged over sixty-five, of whom there are in England and Wales no less than 1,376,390—an increase on 1881 of more than 15 per cent.; the victims of the various forms of physical infirmity and mental aberration, of whom the blind, the deaf, and the insane form by far the largest proportion, the blind numbering 23,467 or one in every 1236, the deaf 29,280 or one in 1983, and the insane 97,383 or one in every 298 of the population; inmates of workhouses to the number of 182,713, of whom 102,689 or one in every 137 were males, and 80,024 or one in 187 females, the total pauper inmates showing a decline of 9 per cent. since 1881: and "civil" prisoners to the number of 17,303. Of these last 14,775 were of the male, and only 2528 of the female sex. One of the most gratifying and suggestive facts in the whole report is the gradual and recently enormous reduction in our prison population. "In 1881 they numbered 27,889—nearly 1000 less than in 1871—but in 1891 the number had fallen again by no less than 38 per cent. in face of the fact that the general population had increased by 11·7 per cent. . . . How is this enormous and unprecedented decline to be explained? It can be accounted for in very large measure by the most satisfactory of all causes—the great reduction that has apparently occurred in the criminal classes." And what has caused this striking reduction?

Of the total number over ten years of age returned as engaged in some definite occupation, 8,883,254 or 83·9 per cent. were males, and 4,016,230 or only 35 per cent. were females; but the most important and numerous of all female occupations—the rearing of children and the management of the home—is omitted from this reckoning. Many of the

4,986,649 wives would have to be added to the other four million women in full work to make the comparison with the other sex at all a fair one.

Turning to the classes into which the active and industrious millions are divided, it is interesting to note that the industrial class—technically so called—greatly outnumbers all the other classes put together, no less than 7,336,344 persons, or 33·3 per cent. of the population of ten or more years of age, and 56·9 per cent. of such persons of those ages as had specified occupations being grouped together under this one head. The growth of this class had been greater than that of the population by nearly 4 per cent. In most of the fifteen orders into which the industrial class is subdivided, the growth had been very much greater than this, but the increase of the whole class had been reduced to 15·1 per cent. by the exceptionally small growth in two of the largest groups, the building trades and the textile industries. In most of the other classes—the domestic, commercial, agricultural, and professional—the increase had been marked and noteworthy. The chief exception, of course, is in the class of agricultural labourers, in which the numbers had fallen from 847,954 to 733,433. As a test of prosperity, the increase or the decrease of the domestic class is of great value. It is satisfactory therefore to learn that domestic servants have increased by 12·28 per cent., and supplemental servants or charwomen by 13·34. Of the million and a half domestic servants no fewer than 107,167 girls were under fifteen, and 449,612 were under twenty. “It is this opening for early employment that strips the rural districts of their young girls and causes the lads exceptionally to outnumber the girls in country places between the ages of ten and twenty.” The immense preponderance of this class may be estimated from the fact that of all females in the country between the ages of fifteen and twenty, one in 3·3 was a domestic servant. There were 334,025 more women employed in 1891 than in 1881, and two entirely new occupations for women appear on the list—that of architect and that of commercial traveller. The other feminine occupations which show the most marked increase are those of type-writers, clerks and bookkeepers, printers, hair-dressers, and temporary

waitresses in private families. The growth of the commercial class is another indication of general prosperity. Whilst the growth in the industrial class is only 15·1, the increase in this class is 27 per cent. Commercial clerks have multiplied prodigiously, but not so fast as persons engaged in insurance business, for while the latter have doubled, the former have only increased by 36·2 per cent. As an indication of the enormous development in our trade it may also be mentioned that over a million persons were engaged directly or indirectly in the work of transport, this being an increase of 25 per cent. on 1881; and as one out of many indications of the growth in the purchasing power of the people it may be noted that the purveyors of food alone had increased by 26 per cent., and those employed in the manufacture and sale of tobacco by no less than 46 per cent. And, finally—to end our survey in good company—the classes properly so-called—the professional classes—have, as a rule, kept pace with the population. The army, which now numbers 222,859 at home and abroad, has increased by 19·5, and the navy, numbering nearly 53,000, by 19·3 per cent. The police force has increased by 22·8 per cent.; so that now there is one policeman to every 726 persons, instead of one to every 799, as in 1881. The Anglican clergy, now numbering nearly 25,000, have slightly outgrown the population, the increase being 11·9 per cent. Roman Catholic priests had increased in a much greater ratio. They numbered 2511 against 2089 in 1881, and 1620 in 1871. The increase therefore was 20·2 per cent. in 1891, as against 29 in the previous decade. The ministers of other Churches numbered 10,057, as against 9734 in 1881 and 9264 in 1871—an increase of 3·3 per cent. in the last decennium, and of 5·1 in the last but one. The proportion of “free” to “established” ministers was as 10 to 24. When it is remembered that 24 per cent. of the population are children of school age, and that these 6,750,022 boys and girls between three and thirteen years of age are all supposed to be receiving education, it will surprise no one to learn that the total number of schoolmasters and teachers was 200,595, this being an increase of 15·5 per cent. In the twenty years 1871–91, the increase was 57·0 per cent., while the increase

of population was only 27·7. During the same period the proportion of persons who when married were unable to sign the register fell from 194 to 64 per 1000 for the men, and from 268 to 73 per 1000 for the women. Law and medicine came out well in the returns; but music, as was meet, had far outstripped them both. Indeed she crowns the increase of the masses and the classes with the splendid record of her growth. "Performers and composers" for a people that is still supposed to be "not musical" had grown by 51 per cent.!

ART. VI.—ST. TERESA.

Santa Teresa : Being some account of her Life and Times, together with some Pages from the history of the last great Reform in the Religious Orders. By GABRIELA CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM. Two Volumes. 32s. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1894.

THIS biography of the most famous saint of Spain is the outcome of six years' patient study. The writer has not only utilised books and papers which were unknown to her predecessors, but, accompanied by her muleteer and a devoted servant, she has traversed the length and breadth of Spain, visiting the remotest hamlets to find traces of Teresa, living on bread and wine, and sleeping out wherever night overtook her. Teresa here finds her historic setting among the men and women of her time—a commanding figure in her eventful century—a saint with a vein of mysticism which she herself never really fathomed, and an unfailing fund of worldly wisdom that stamps her as a true Castilian and the born leader of a difficult enterprise. Her birthplace, the grim border fortress of Avila, lies about sixty miles to the north-west of Madrid. The old Castilian town profoundly impresses the imagination of a visitor. "Hung between earth and sky, clustered around its grey cathedral, on the last spur of the Guadarramas, dominating the wildest, bleakest uplands in Castille; a city

such as Van Eyck painted, or some quaint illuminator drew with minute hand on the yellow pages of a missal. Seen from afar it might be some phantom city, such as the Indians tell of in Mexico or the Andes; or a fantastic rock balanced on the crag it clings to. Houses and boulders jumbled together, the very surface of the streets broken and pierced with rocks. The brown parameras at her feet are covered with craggy rocks. Grey rocky landscape, grey rocky towers, natural and chiselled rocks in jagged outline against the sky," frame in the picture. The cathedral—half church, half fortress—perched on the highest ground, looms over the town whose gloomy labyrinths of lanes and narrow streets nestle under its shadow. The walls, not more than half a mile apart at their widest point, follow the sinuous movement of the ridge. From the deep-mouthed gateway "a sunlit street, narrow and tortuous, deserted and silent," creeps up the hill,

"between high walls fissured with time and baked by the heat into indefinable gradations of colour. In Teresa's time this street, which rarely to-day echoes to the footsteps of a chance passer-by, was thickly inhabited by an industrious and harmless population of Mudejares and Jews. Then it was the main artery of the town, the central line between the walls. Through that sombre and silent gateway at the bridge once flowed the stream of the quaint mediæval life of Castille; strange processions of mailed and plumed warriors; hunting parties with hawks and hounds; bishops in full pontificals, surrounded by kneeling crowds; a tide of travellers whose weary footsteps left a mark on the rough causeway ere they went their way on their endless journey out of the memory of men and Avila. To-day a few donkeys enter or emerge through its shadow, their drivers labourers and peasants, who with the characteristic costume of the country, preserve, across so many ages, the peculiar dignity and stateliness of another world—the tight knee-breeches tied in at the knee with a bunch of ribbons; the short jackets, black or brown, scorched by the sun into many hues; the 'abarcas' (sandals) fastened to the legs with strips of leather—or fresh-coloured serranas from those little grey villages hidden in the Sierras, who still wear their national dress with the arrogance and grace natural to their race—the short scarlet or yellow petticoat, the low velvet bodice, the massive earrings of rare and intricate workmanship."

The knights of Teresa's day have gone, but the peasants still linger unchanged in garb and manners by the lapse of three stirring centuries.

Avila formed for two hundred years the mountain barrier

between Christian Spain and the Moorish kingdom of Toledo. Moslem and Christian fought desperately for its possession. Alfonso VI. finally wrested it from the Infidel about 1090, and turned it into a fastness bristling with defences. Henceforth Avila the Loyal, Avila of the Knights, was first in battle, in faithfulness, in chivalry. Queen Isabella passed her youth in its palace, the Madrigal, now a deserted convent. The expulsion of the Jews, which took place in 1492—twenty-three years before the birth of Teresa—proved the death-blow to the prosperity of the town. Eleven and a half thousand Jews, including cloth workers, carpet makers, and famous artificers who enriched the place, were banished at one stroke. Whole quarters of Avila were deserted and remain unoccupied to this day. Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor, whose name is branded with infamy, lies buried in the Dominican monastery of Santo Tomás, to the south of the town. He was the chief founder of that great house. It was built with the confiscated wealth of Jews and Moors, and the first *san-benitos* seen in Spain were guarded before its high altar. The flames of persecution first kindled against the Jews in Avila spread over the land, and robbed Spain of eighty-five thousand of her most learned and industrious citizens.

Such was the town in which the future saint was born. The convent of Pastrana still preserves a paper in her father's writing. "On Wednesday, on the 28th day of March, of the year 1515, was born Teresa my daughter, at five o'clock in the morning, half an hour before or after." The font in the parish church of San Juan, where she was baptized six days later, stands in a dusky corner, its rim protected by a thin strip of brass carved in arabesques and covered with a heavy board of olive wood. At its base are the rough blocks of stone worn by the knees of generations of godfathers and godmothers. The saint's father, Alonso Sanchez de Cepeda, belonged to a noble Toledan family. His mother was a Cepeda—a race distinguished in the long struggle against the Moors. Teresa's mother, Beatriz Davila y Ahumada, could boast as proud an ancestry as her husband. No vestige remains of the house in which Teresa first saw the light, but many buildings still survive which help us to re-

construct it for ourselves. We can see the gloomy grey façade, irregularly studded with narrow slits, the arched gateway, the heavy doors, leading into a kind of covered entrance hall, on one side of which were the stables. Beyond lies the courtyard, round which the house is built.

"On these interiors, full of intimate charm, the mediæval workman exhausted all his art. Round both stories ran open galleries, whose colonnades of Gothic arches were supported by slender columns with delicately wrought capitals, on which were sometimes repeated the arms of the house. The ground floor was occupied by the kitchen, offices, and servants' dwellings. The rooms occupied by the family were on the floor above. The projecting eaves of the roof, which rested on wooden soffits most quaintly carved, submerged the upper gallery in shadowy obscurity. Wherever the irregular wavy outline of the tiles cut against the sky, it framed a patch of dazzling, glittering light. Perhaps a vine clung limpet-like to the pillars or the walls. A conspicuous object in the centre of the courtyard was the draw-well, with its characteristic brim, buckets, and chains. In the whole building and its accessories an indescribable mixture of Moorish and Gothic elements, impossible to separate or define."

The walls were hung with tapestries or lovely leather. Wooden chests placed against the sides served both as benches and cupboards.

From Teresa's writings we learn that her father was dignified, honourable, and kindly, a great lover of books of devotion, of which he had formed a considerable collection for the use of his children. He could never be induced to own a slave, and treated one belonging to his brother, then staying with him, like a child of the house. He said "he could not for very pity bear to see a person deprived of freedom." Teresa's mother was a woman of great beauty, much younger than her husband, and his second wife. She died in her thirty-third year, having borne seven sons and two daughters during her brief married life. Teresa was her third child. It was a happy family. "They were all bound to each other," she says, "by a tender love, and all resembled their parents in virtue except myself." Six of her brothers became soldiers and went to push their fortune in the New World, whence only two of them ever returned. Teresa and her favourite brother Rodrigo, four years younger than herself, pored over the lives of saints and martyrs till they were filled with longing to tread in their

steps in order to enjoy as soon as possible the great treasures which they understood to be stored up in heaven. After talking the matter over Teresa says, "We agreed to go to the land of the Moors, begging our way for the love of God, there to be beheaded; and it seems to me that the Lord gave us courage even at so tender an age, if we could have discovered any means of accomplishing it. But our parents seemed to us the greatest obstacle." It is said—but this may have been a mere legend—that the children set out on their journey, but were espied by an uncle and brought safely back to their anxious mother.

Here is her portrait of her childhood. "I gave in alms what I could, and that was very little. I tried to be alone to say my prayers, which were many; above all the rosary, to which my mother had a great devotion, with which she inspired us also. Although I was very wicked, I tried in some way since I was a child to serve God, and did not do some things I see, which the world seems to consider of no importance. I was not disposed to murmur, or to speak ill of others, nor does it seem to me I could dislike another, nor was I covetous, nor do I remember to have felt envy." Her mother died when she was twelve years old. Henceforth Teresa was left much to herself. Stories of knight-errantry now took the place of the lives of the saints. She had caught this taste from her mother. The books had been carefully concealed from her father, who heartily and justly disliked the unrestrained licentiousness and coarseness of such romances. It was a strange phase in the history of a future saint. Teresa bitterly reproached herself in after life for the days spent in her father's old grey tower in poring over these wild and unprofitable stories.

She was now growing into womanhood. She was tall and well-proportioned, with a fair brow encircled by black curling hair, sparkling black eyes, a dimpled chin, small hands with long tapering fingers. She had a charm of manner and a personal magnetism which never failed to produce a deep impression. The consciousness of her beauty made her eager to win admiration. "I began," she says in telling the story of these years, "to wear fine clothes, and to wish to please by looking well, and to bestow much care on my hands and

hair, and to use perfumes and every other vanity I could procure, for I was very curious." By curious she means that she was scrupulously careful as to her person and dress. In after years she struggled hard and often vainly to teach her nuns so much of this curiousness as would make them neat and clean. Beneath all her pride in dress and beauty there lay the foundation of a strong character and a sharply marked individuality. Honest and straightforward, she had all the punctilious dignity of a Castilian, and longed to excel in everything she attempted.

The only men allowed to cross her father's threshold were some gay young cousins who brought a spice of fun and laughter into her monotonous and secluded life. "We were always together," she says; "they were very fond of me, and I kept up the talk in everything in which they were interested, and they told me of their love affairs and childish folly, in no way good; and, what was worse, my soul began to be accustomed to what was the cause of all its hurts." A relative whom her mother had vainly endeavoured to discourage from coming to the house abetted the girl in her amusements. Teresa says that until the age of fourteen, when this relative became her confidant, she did not think she had left God through mortal sin, nor lost His fear, although she feared more lest anything should be said or done to reflect upon her honour. "This feeling was strong enough to prevent its being altogether lost; nor do I think that anything in the world, nor love for any person in it, could change or make me yield in this." Her father and elder sister were much grieved at her friendship with this relative, but their remonstrances were unheeded. Her eyes were opened in later years. "I am sometimes frightened," she said afterwards, "at the harm done by evil company, and had I not experienced it, could not believe it. In the season of youth greater must be the evil it works." Scarcely any trace of her early seriousness was left. She abhorred everything impure, but the intimacy gave rise to scandal and alarmed her father, who packed her off to the old Augustinian convent of Santa Maria de Gracia. Thus ended for the moment the future saint's pitiful little story of youthful frivolity.

In the cloister the girl of sixteen soon won all hearts. She had entered Santa Maria with a great aversion to a nun's life, but she was not unaffected by the atmosphere around her. "If I saw one of the sisters shed tears when she prayed, or possess other virtues, I longed to be like her, for, as regards this, my heart was so hard that I could not shed a tear, even though I read the whole Passion through; this gave me pain." She asked the prayers of the community that she might find her own vocation. She feared marriage, but hoped that she might escape a convent life. After eighteen months a painful illness compelled her to return to her father's house. During her days of convalescence she visited her married sister, who lived in the country, two days' journey from Avila. On her way she stayed with an uncle at Hortigosa, who was a strange mixture of country squire and ascetic. He asked Teresa to read aloud his favourite books of devotion. She concealed her distaste for them in order to give the old man pleasure. The result is thus told in her autobiography: "Although the days I stayed with him were few, such was the effect the words of God I read and heard had on my heart, and the good companionship, that I began to understand the truth of my childhood: that all was nothing, and the vanity of the world, and how quickly everything ended; and to fear, if I was to die, that I should go to hell. Although my will could not subject itself to be a nun, I saw that it was the best and the surest life, and so, little by little, I began to constrain myself to take it."

The girl felt no vocation for the cloister. She thought at first that one, like herself, who had been used to delicate living could not bear its privations; but this was set down as a temptation of the devil to be fought and conquered. We watch with growing pity that fierce struggle of a mind torn asunder by doubts and temptations. "Her aversion to the cloister was only equalled by a tremendous dread of hell." After three months of torture she told her father that she had resolved to enter a convent. He refused his consent. Teresa was his favourite child. He could not bear to part with her, though he hinted that after his death she might take her own course. Teresa was not, however, turned from her purpose.

On November 2, 1533, the girl of seventeen rose early one morning and betook herself to the Carmelite convent of the Encarnacion, about half a mile north of the city walls. She had been repelled by the severe discipline among the demure nuns of Santa Maria de Gracia, and though she was moved by servile fear to enter a religious house, she turned towards the "merry, noisy, squabbling, sometimes hungry, chattering, and scandal-loving" sisterhood of the Carmelite convent, where she might keep for herself "a world within the world." It is a pitiful picture painted by herself. "I do not think that when I die, the wrench will be greater than when I went forth from my father's house; for it seems to me that every bone was wrenched asunder, and as there was no love of God to take the place of the love of father and kinsmen, the struggle was so great that, if the Lord had not helped me, my own resolutions would not have been enough to carry me through." Her father was sent for, and arrived in time to see her take the habit. For a while Teresa seemed at rest. She fulfilled her lowly duties with a cheerful spirit, sweeping the floors, hanging up the nun's cloaks which were left in the choir, and lighting the sisters through their dark and draughty corridors. She was neat and fond of all religious observances, but was pained because her tears and love of solitude were sometimes harshly misinterpreted. After a year of probation she became a professed nun after another terrible struggle.

The mental distress which she passed through seems to have told seriously on her health. The fainting fits from which she had suffered before became more frequent and prolonged, and were accompanied with severe pains at the heart. She had to be moved to her father's house, and when the medical men of Avila failed to relieve her, she was put under the care of a female quack—a curandera—in one of the villages. On her way to this place she stayed for a time with her sister, poring over a mystic classic by Francisco de Osuna—the *Abecedario Espirituel*—given her by her uncle. The book fascinated her. Her nuns of Avila still preserve the copy over which she pored. She has scored and underlined it, marking her favourite passages with a cross, a heart, or a hand. She was no stranger to the "gift of tears" of which Osuna spoke, and his "Prayer

of Quiet and Union" was her chief solace amid these months of pain and weakness. The delicate girl suffered agonies from the brutal treatment of the curandera, which left her almost lifeless. "Sharp teeth seemed to gnaw incessantly at her heart, her nerves shrivelled up with intolerable agony; she knew no rest day or night; and, consumed with disease and fever, she became the prey of the profoundest sadness." She returned to Avila more dead than alive. One night, after a violent paroxysm, she fell into a trance which lasted four days. Her friends thought she was dead. Only her father's firmness prevented her from being buried. When she came out of her trance her eyes were full of the wax which had run down from the candles set about what seemed to be a corpse. Gradually she crept back to life. She herself considered the disease to be quartan ague, but others describe her attacks as hysteric and epileptic convulsions.

Teresa returned to the convent on Palm Sunday, 1537, after more than eighteen months of terrible illness. She was then only twenty-two. She lay for three years in the convent infirmary alone with her books and prayers. Fear had given place to love. Her cheerful resignation and care for others made a profound impression on the sisterhood. She gradually regained a measure of strength, but to the end of life was an ailing and feeble woman, only borne along the path of duty by her tenacious will and nervous energy. Few saints have been so long in reaching even a modest degree of sanctity as Teresa. Eighteen years more rolled by before her name was heard outside the cloister. The parlours of the convent were thronged with visitors, great ladies and even idle young gallants went and came without restriction. Young, amiable, fascinating, witty, miraculously restored to something like health, Teresa seems to have inspired and returned some ardent attachments. Her religious duties at one period palled upon her. She began to fear prayer, and though she managed to retain the good opinion of the nuns generally, one old relative in the cloister did not fail to utter repeated warnings. It was the old struggle between the world and the cloister which had begun afresh. Teresa laboured hard to reconcile the spiritual life with the things of the world, and waged a continual war between conscience and inclination.

The death of her father opened her eyes. She had lent him books, and guided him in his meditation and prayers, for with all her natural frivolity she had a deep vein of religious feeling. Even during her own days of spiritual declension she had not been able to resist the impulse to guide him and others. As she nursed her father in his last illness she learnt many a solemn lesson. She laid bare her heart to her father's confessor, who taught her to take the sacrament and resume her habits of prayer. It was long before she won peace, but she saw afterwards "how great a mercy the Lord did me in granting them (her bitter tears) with such a deep repentance." The change that was passing over her was not unnoted by the nuns of the Encarnacion with their lax standard of duty. They made the road rough indeed for Teresa. It was personal experience that dictated her sentence: "The friar and the nun, who, in very truth begin to follow their vocation, have more to fear from those of their own community than from all the devils combined."

Teresa was now forty-one. Her soul was weary, but her evil dispositions seemed to stand between her and true peace. One day, as she entered her oratory, her gaze fell on a wooden image of Christ which had been placed there in readiness for some convent festival. She says: "As I gazed on it my whole being was stirred to see Him in such a state, for all He went through was well set forth. Such was the sorrow I felt for having repaid those wounds so ill, that my heart seemed rent in twain; and in floods of tears I cast myself down before it, beseeching Him once for all to give me strength not to offend Him more." Whilst thus impressed she met with *St. Augustine's Confessions*. She seemed to see herself in those pages, and when she read of the Voice which Augustine heard in the garden before his conversion it thrilled her heart almost as if the Lord had called on her. The spiritual world now became more real to her. She was soon an ecstatic mystic given up to devout contemplations. A layman of the town, who devoted his life to charity and good works, now became her warm friend and counsellor. He advised her to open her mind to Padranos, a young and zealous member of the Society of Jesus, which was then in its infancy. Padranos, she says, "bid me take courage, for what did I know whether through me the Lord

intended to do good to many." He also led her to practice mortification and penance from which she had hitherto held aloof. One shudders to read of the tin shirt pierced with holes like a grater which she wore next her skin, wounding every part it touched, of the bed of briars, and of the scourgings with nettles and keys. "In Segovia," says her biographer, "she sent her nuns to the choir, and, rising from the bed where she lay consumed with fever, scourged herself until she broke her arm. She slept on a straw mattress; her meals were frugal, she drank no wine. For some time the tunic she wore next the skin, her sheets and pillows, were of the coarse blanketing used for horse-cloths."

Teresa soon became the talk of Avila. The mystic visions which she saw in her convent cell were discussed in town and cloister with a keenness and acrimony which we of this age can scarcely understand. The first of these experiences came one day when, "after having been deep in prayer," she began to repeat the hymn *Veni Creator*. Whilst saying this, she tells us, "I was seized with a rapture so sudden that it almost carried me beside myself, and of this I could not doubt, for it was very palpable. It was the first time that the Lord had done me this favour. I heard these words: 'I no longer wish thee to converse with men, but with angels.'" This was the earliest of those divine "locutions" which henceforth guided all Teresa's conduct. She says they were "words very clearly formed, not heard by the bodily hearing, but impressed on the understanding much more clearly than if they were so heard; and in spite of all resistance it is impossible to fail to understand them." Her friends betrayed her confidences, so that her visions became known to all the town. The recent impostures of two other nuns—Magdalen de la Cruz and the Prioress of Lisbon—were not forgotten. Teresa's visions were received with jeers and derision, as "delusions" and "snares of the devil." The Inquisition carefully investigated the matter. There is no need to accuse Teresa of duplicity and falsehood such as the other nuns to whom we have referred were guilty of. We find an adequate explanation of the hallucinations in her long illnesses, her severe fastings, her cruel vigils. She would have been more than human had she escaped such experiences.

Her biographer points out the part which these hallucinations played in her life-work. "It was her visions and revelations which first gained for her that character for sanctity, without which it would have been impossible for her even to dream of undertaking the work which was to be the idea and dominating reason of her life. She might have practised for ever, swallowed up in the shadow of the Encarnacion, all the heroic virtues of the Christian, and no one a whit the wiser that a rare flower had blossomed in and spread its fragrance through those sunlit cloisters." She herself was at one time tormented with a dread that her visions were of the devil, and at another time radiantly confident that their origin was divine. They varied according to her moods. Sometimes it was Christ with His wounds and His cross who stood before her; in brighter hours she saw Him in all the glory of His Resurrection. Her descriptions of her conflicts with demons furnish terrible proof of the nervous strain of this period. A little black imp rains a storm of blows on her body, her head, and her arms for five hours, leaving her exhausted and sore as though she had been beaten. Invisible hands try to strangle her in the choir, and when Holy Water is sprinkled on the spot she sees a great multitude of demons rush away. In Teresa's descriptions of these conflicts, Mrs. Graham discerns a grosser and more material note which is unworthy of her. We can at least discern a storm-tossed soul struggling against the powers of evil in fetters forged by her own criminal abuse of every law of health—whether mental or physical.

It was about this time that Teresa met Pedro de Alcántara, a Franciscan friar, who had founded or reformed forty monasteries in his native province of Estremadura. The old man was no stranger to such conflicts as Teresa's. When she told her story, he bade her take courage. "Go on, daughter, for you are on the right road—we all wear the same livery." It is probable that she conceived the notion of founding convents herself from Alcántara's experiences.

Teresa had now found a champion in the greatest saint of his age and Order. Her friends ceased their opposition. Henceforth she was free to work out her destiny. Teresa undertook her first foundation in the same year that she met with Alcántara. One night a few nuns—her relatives and

intimate friends—met in her cell. They bewailed the difficulties placed in the way of true contemplation in a convent so overcrowded and so worldly as that of the Encarnacion. One of Teresa's nieces, a thoughtless girl, conspicuous as yet only for her love of the world and its gaieties, broke forth with a practical suggestion, "Well, let us who are here, betake us to a different and more silent way of life, like hermits." The friends were thus led to discuss the probable cost of starting a little convent on stricter principles. The girl offered to give a thousand ducats of her dowry towards the work. There were many difficulties in the way, but at last the consent of the Provincial of the Order was gained and a site secured. Avila was soon convulsed with ridicule and abuse at the expense of Teresa and her chief helper. The Encarnacion was also stirred to its depths by this reflection on the purity of its life and discipline. The Provincial yielded to the pressure and withdrew his consent to the foundation. Some of the nuns would have thrown Teresa into the dungeons. But opposition only brought forth the nun's invincible resolution. She secured the warm support of Ibañez, of Santo Tomás, one of the most learned men in the Dominican Order. She disclosed to him the dangers of convent life as she saw it day by day. "Rather let fathers marry their daughters basely than allow them to face the dangers of ten worlds rolled into one, where youth, sensuality, and the devil invite them to follow things worldly of the worldly." Threats of the Inquisition led Teresa to lay bare her strange spiritual experiences to the friar, and at his suggestion, during the six months of suspense, she wrote that memorable autobiography which still shows us her inmost heart. It was not till the summer of 1561 that Teresa could take any practical steps to secure a convent. She persuaded her brother-in-law to come in from Alba and purchase the house as though for his own use. His wife joined him in August. From that time until Christmas Teresa was going to and fro between the Encarnacion and the house, which people regarded as her sister's, organising, directing the workmen, and getting all things in readiness for her future convent. It was with the utmost difficulty that she found funds. In her sorest straits a sum of money came from her brother

Lorenzo in Peru. A later age—"and never was there such a recrudescence of the grossest superstition as took place during the century immediately following Teresa's death"—magnified into a miracle an incident of this time. Her little nephew, who was found lying to all appearance stiff and dead, was said to have been restored by the saints. It needed all the glamour of the supernatural to carry Teresa safely over the difficulties of these initial months.

She had reached the crisis of her work, and was daily expecting the Bulls for the foundation from Rome when she was ordered to start for Toledo in order to comfort a great lady of Castile who had just lost her husband. Her absence from Avila at this time seemed to threaten ruin to her scheme, yet she was compelled to go. In the beginning of January 1562 she and her companion set out on this mission. She stayed in Toledo till June, winning the love and admiration of the widowed lady, and learning, through intercourse with another Carmelite nun, to make voluntary poverty the pivot of her reform.

On August 24, 1562, a little company of nine met at the Convent Chapel of San José to see its humble altar consecrated and its first four novices admitted. For the next six months Teresa found herself in open conflict with both the sisters of the Encarnacion and the people of Avila. She expected every hour to witness the destruction of her little foundation. "The tumult in the town was so great," she says, "that nothing else was talked of, and every one condemned me, and ran to and fro between the Provincial and my monastery." The Provincial and the nuns of the Encarnacion met to pass judgment on the culprit. Teresa, to quote her biographer, "characteristically simulated a compunction she was far from feeling, 'so that I should not seem to make little of what they said,' but she was in reality as firm as a rock. The sisters accused her of seeking notoriety and public esteem, but when at last she spoke for herself they could find nothing to condemn. The Provincial remained "exceedingly satisfied," and promised that when the tumult quieted down she should return to San José. It was long, however, before peace was restored. The city

council discussed the matter for two days, and determined to make short work of the obnoxious convent, but when the officers appeared at San José threatening to break down the doors unless the sisters come forth they found themselves helpless against the quiet heroism of Teresa and her four novices. The proximity of the Host to the entrance and the fact that the convent was under the Bishop's protection alone prevented them from proceeding to extremities. Next day a great assembly consisting of the Council, the Cathedral Chapter, and representatives from the various religious orders, met to consult how they might uproot the little convent. The corregidor argued that the town was so thickly studded with religious houses that it could bear no more, but a black-robed Dominican espoused Teresa's cause and managed, though he could not answer the arguments, to cover those who advanced them with ridicule. It was resolved to let the civil authorities proceed against Teresa because she had not secured their consent as the law of the kingdom required. It was not till two years had passed that the suit was dropped and Teresa allowed to take her course. Never during the course of that long struggle was she betrayed into any bitterness. Her sweetness and courtesy had indeed no small share in securing the victory. At last she and two companions were allowed to leave the Encarnacion to train the four novices in San José.

Teresa's little sisterhood rose at six and spent in prayer two hours in summer and three in winter. Then came mass. If there was anything in the cupboard, the bell called them to the refectory at ten in summer and eleven in winter. When they were not reduced to dry bread a little coarse fish or cheese was allowed. An hour of pleasant recreation followed, then came the afternoon siesta, or pious meditation in the cells. All particular friendships were forbidden. No sister was allowed to embrace another or touch her hands or face. At two came vespers followed by an hour's reading. Complines were said at six in summer and at five in winter. At eight the bell rang for silence. The monastic day was over at eleven. Personal property was prohibited. A black serge habit reached to the feet, the coifs and sheets were of coarsest flax,

the tunics were of woollen serge, and they had hemp-soled sandals. They wore no shoes and were therefore known as the Discalced Carmelites. The house was governed by a prioress who was taught that "she who would be obeyed must make herself loved." Teresa frowned on learning, and was more than once roused to ire by inopportune displays of erudition from Maria de Salázar, her most capable prioress. "Ignorance," she said, "was the most fitting for saints." "She was no lover of Bibles or those who read them," says Mrs. Graham, "and once told a would-be novice at Toledo who brought a copy of the Scriptures to the Convent, 'Away with you, wench, and your Bible!'" She actually wished her sisters to be proud of appearing ignorant. Her passion for cleanliness was one of her chief virtues; and it is pleasant to know that the nuns never fared so well as when Teresa took her turn as cook in the kitchen. She composed many simple verses to celebrate the profession of her nuns.

"He will give rich jewels,
This Spouse-King of heaven;
Tender comfort, too, that none can rob,
And humble spirit, greatest prize of all.
Such can this king bestow,
Who to wed with you comes down to-day."

It was not long before the simple sisterhood won their way to the hearts of the good citizens of Avila. One or two notable accessions were gained to their number. The town became thankful to catch a little of the glory of the saint. On the great anniversaries of the Order, especially on Bartholomew's Day, the Governor, Cathedral Chapter, and Municipal authorities of Avila went in solemn procession to San José to hear four novices play in concert on the drum, the pipes and cymbals, which link these days of honour to those bitter days of civil and ecclesiastical opposition when the little convent was in its infancy.

Teresa now spent the five happiest years of her life in seclusion at San José, her "little corner-stone of angels." Here she wrote her *Camino de Perfeccion*, which in its caustic irony, its penetrating knowledge of human character, and its tender sympathy for all spiritual difficulties, is her greatest

work. In 1566, Ravena, the new General of the Carmelites, received Teresa back into the Order. He refused to sanction any extension of the reform to friars, but gave Teresa authority to found new convents in any part of Castille. She fixed on Medina del Campo, then the most important commercial centre in Spain, for her next move. Julian de Avila, a young priest who had long been her faithful henchman, was intrusted with the preliminary arrangements. On August 13, 1567, Teresa herself set out for Medina. There were many obstacles to surmount, but at last the little sisterhood was safely in possession. Alms poured in, and she who had left Avila with a few small coins in her pocket, was not only able to purchase a house and endow a chaplain, but also to spend on it many thousands of ducats.

Teresa's life and influence were now broadening out. We trace her from city to city founding her little communities. The General of the Order had at length granted permission for the extension of the reform to friars, so that she was "laden with patents and good desires," though she had no material resources behind her for this work. Her patience and her ingenuity in the end triumphed over every obstacle. Her own life was the best illustration of her constitutions. She swept and scrubbed in the convent at Medina, secretly made the beds of the sisters, and swept and washed their cells. She met the laughing attempts of the nuns to snatch away broom or duster with the words, "Daughters, do not cause me to be idle in the house of the Lord." The greatest nobles were anxious to become patrons of one of Teresa's convents. After two months at Medina she set out to found a third nunnery at Malagon, a savage little fortress between Andalucia and New Castille. The whole population turned out to do her homage. The days were passed when she had to plant her convents in secrecy. The following February (1566), amid universal rejoicing, she brought her fourth foundation to a successful issue in the stately city of Valladolid.

In the meantime the first reformed Carmelite monastery had been founded at Duruelo by Juan de la Cruz, of the great heart and little body, the most famous of her friars, whose name is indissolubly linked with her own. In May 1569 a

settlement was made in Toledo, where the sisters were for a time sunk in lowest destitution. They reserved their one blanket for Teresa, and shivered with cold on their straw pallets. When Teresa, who felt the cold keenly, begged for more clothing, the nuns told her laughingly that she had all there was in the house—namely, their capes. They had a merry laugh together over their discomforts. The day that they started their nunnery they had only a sardine or two, which they must have eaten raw had not some good woman been moved to put a bundle of sticks in the church. A messenger arrived at this juncture from the Princess of Eboli, one of the greatest ladies in the kingdom, asking Teresa to come at once and found a house in Pastrana. It was very hard for her to leave her little sisterhood to struggle alone at Toledo. At first she refused to go, but finally consented, and was soon on her way to Madrid. At Pastrana she had to face many troubles, for the flighty princess wished Teresa to modify her rule. The prince himself brought his wife to reason, and in July 1569, Teresa had the pleasure of seeing both a convent and a monastery founded in Pastrana. As soon as possible she hastened back to Toledo, which became her headquarters for the next four or five years. She offended the aristocrats, who regarded monastic foundations as their exclusive right, by accepting the endowment offered by a humble merchant, so that the way was rough at first, but as usual her good temper and tact smoothed over all difficulties.

In the summer of 1570 Teresa was appointed prioress of her old convent—the Encarnacion. The place was on the verge of ruin. The nuns had actually obtained permission to return to their friends in order to escape starvation. Only one woman could rescue the convent, and that was the nun who, ten years before, had been denounced and reviled by the whole sisterhood. Teresa was very unwilling to take this burden on herself, but one day she had a vision. The Lord said: "Oh, daughter, daughter! my sisters are they of the Encarnacion, and yet thou hesitatest. If so, take courage; behold this is My will, and that is not so difficult as it seems to thee, and where thou thinkest that thy own foundations shall lose, both they and it shall gain."

The appointment had been forced on both Teresa and the convent by the Visitor and the Carmelite Chapter. The nuns rose up in arms against one whose rule they dreaded, and prepared, with the help of some gentlemen of Avila, to resist her entrance by main force. The wildest uproar broke out when the Provincial read the patent of her election in the choir. "Many rose up and defied the patents, vomiting forth accusations and insults against Teresa. The minority seized the cross and formed in procession to receive her, whilst two monks effected her entrance by sheer force. Then arose an unholy Babel, a shrieking of women's tongues, a frenzied excitement, which it is hard to imagine as having taken place within the tranquil walls of the Encarnacion. Some chanted the *Te Deum*; others breathed maledictions against their prioress and him who sent her there. The Provincial, beside himself with rage, stood in the midst of a pandemonium he could neither restrain nor control, surrounded by fainting, hysterical, excited women." Teresa had remained kneeling before the altar. She now came to the rescue and calmed the angry crowd. But the battle was not yet won. The sisters resolved to defy her orders. When Teresa held her first chapter, however, she made an address which silenced these haughty and intractable nuns. The most refractory brought her the keys of the convent and begged her to distribute the offices of trust as she saw fit. The temporal affairs of the convent began to improve under her administration, though it was hard enough to keep the wolf from the door. How the strain told on her feeble frame we learn from her own words: "This house of the Encarnacion is seen notably to make my health suffer; please God I may gain somewhat by it." She was worn out by attacks of fever, which left her about two in the morning only to make way for fits of ague. Yet amid all her duties in Avila she kept up a constant correspondence with her scattered sisterhoods, advising and directing them according to their need.

In July 1573 Teresa was set free from her heavy load after two years of ceaseless anxiety. She set out for Salamanca, where her presence was urgently needed by the sisterhood. They had lived for three years in a ruinous place, before which ran an open sewer that made it damp, cold, and unhealthy. A

house was in the market, but no one durst venture on its purchase till Teresa arrived. With characteristic courage she lost no time in concluding the bargain, though she and her nuns found the blustering knight from whom they bought the place a sad thorn in their sides.

She was soon on her way to Segovia to found another convent. She arrived there without a farthing, but in a few months bought a house for 4600 ducats and fitted it out for the sisterhood. Titled and wealthy novices were eager to lay their wealth on the altar. In Medina one lady brought 8000 ducats, in Toledo another's dowry was 9000. Teresa was largely blessed with worldly wisdom. She kept a keen eye on virtue, but was not less keen as to the dower. When she found, however, that the admission of women of high rank relaxed discipline, she did not hesitate to say that she would admit no more.

At the age of sixty she first carried the Reform beyond her own province into the heart of Andalucia. It was midwinter when the covered cart in which she rode crept over the snowy plateaux towards Veas. There she found a welcome more gay and joyous than any she had received before. The ground was strewn with flowers and sweet-smelling rushes, every window gay with silks and velvet. At Veas Teresa first met Gracian, the most lovable and human of all her friars, who was to become almost a son to the foundress in her last years. The Discalced Friars had now begun to make a stir in the world. They had founded nine monasteries during the last four years besides a college for Carmelite novices. Men of worth were gradually deserting the old order to join Teresa's friars. The Descalzos resorted to every kind of trickery to circumvent the sullen and powerful Carmelites. Events favoured them. The Carmelites secured the Pope's intervention on their behalf, but Philip II. and his advisers, who resented Papal interference in the religious affairs of Spain, managed to nullify the Pope's decree, and the Descalzos held on their way.

Bright days came for Teresa when her two brothers, Lorenzo and Pedro, arrived home from the Indies. Lorenzo's little daughter Teresita became an inmate of the convent, clad in a diminutive Carmelite habit. She "seems," says her aunt,

"the sprite of the house, and they are all charmed with her; and she has a temper like an angel, and amuses us in recreation hours with her stories of Indians and the sea, much better than I could tell them." Lorenzo was well-to-do, and came to his sister's rescue when she was much troubled about her foundation in Seville. It is abundantly manifest from this part of her history that the cloister had not dulled Teresa's warm family affection. Her brother's return was the greatest earthly solace of the closing years of her life.

The Chapter of Plasencia, which met in May 1575, decreed the utter extirpation of the Descalzos. Whilst Teresa was journeying to Seville a mandate was on its way to Spain ordering her to retire to a Castilian convent. She and her nuns were also denounced to the Inquisition. Gracian was startled one day when he arrived at the convent in Seville to find the street full of the mules and horses of the Inquisitors. The priest who had denounced them was lurking round the corner to feast his eyes on the sight of the nuns being haled to the dungeon. But the Inquisitors found nothing to condemn. Teresa went quietly on her way. She longed to escape from the hurly-burly of reforms. She was conscious of a great mission. "My life is short," she wrote to a friend, "I would like to have many. To-morrow is New Year's Eve." Whilst the fight with the unreformed Carmelites was still raging, Teresa was greatly troubled about her convents at Malagon and Seville, which were over head and ears in debt. The only hope of escape was through well-dowered novices, and these were now hard to get. Discord and unrest were far from favourable to the growth of the Reform. Teresa discusses the merit of various candidates. One has a blemish, but is not to be dismissed if her friends will pay her dowry of 400 ducats at once; another is wealthy, but her dower cannot be counted on till her father's death; a third is undowered, but perhaps God would help them if she were received for His sake. "Money down" is the saint's maxim in every case. Her shrewdness and keen eye to the means of living form an odd complement to Teresa's sanctity; but she could never have accomplished her work without such mundane gifts. Mrs. Graham says, "it is precisely this accentuated capacity

for business—this rapid and sharp insight into terrene affairs, this *apreté* for money, this acute eye for the ducats—not for herself, but for her convents—that charms me most, and furnishes the clearest proof of her greatness.”

The struggle with the Carmelites went on through the years 1577 and 1578. Teresa urged the friars to appeal in person to the Pope, but none of them was equal to the task of guiding the ship amid the storm. She herself wrote to Philip II. and thus warded off one crisis. For more than two years Teresa hourly expected that the death-blow would be struck to her life-work by the subjection of her convents and monasteries to the Carmelites. In 1579 things grew brighter. Two delegates were sent to Rome, and after a year of stubborn opposition from their rivals they won the day. On June 22, 1580, Pope Gregory XIII. erected the Discalced Carmelites into a separate province. They were now free from their old enemies. Teresa's work was set on a sure basis. She had kept toiling on during the dark years of conflict, and when things grew brighter she was able to found two or three more convents. Brighter days were coming. Her journey to La Roda in the early part of 1580 was a triumphal progress. The little procession set out three hours before daybreak to avoid the crowds, but it was of no avail. The people of every town and village on the route poured out to meet her. One rich farmer decked his house, prepared a feast and gathered his flocks and herds as well as his children to receive the saint's blessing. Teresa could not stay, so he brought all his household into the road to receive her benediction.

In March 1581 the Chapter at Alcalá de Henares separated the Descalcos for ever from the Carmelites. Next year Teresa established her last foundation at Burgos. In December she was hastily summoned from Medina to Alba where the young duchess longed for the old saint's prayers in her approaching confinement. Teresa arrived worn out with sickness and with hunger for she had sorely lacked food on the way. As she was assisted to bed she said, “Oh! God help me, daughters, and how tired I feel; it is more than twenty years since I went to bed so early; blessed be God that I have fallen ill amongst you.” Next morning she rose, and for eight days

busied herself with the work of the convent. Then her strength failed utterly and finally. During the last illness the words oftenest on her lips were "Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus non despicies." At nine o'clock at night on October 4, 1582, "her face suddenly became illumined with a great light and splendour, beautiful and radiant as the sun, and in a last aspiration of supreme love, so peacefully and imperceptibly, that it seemed to those around her that she was still in prayer, her soul took flight." She was buried in Alba where a mass of bricks and stones were placed on the coffin-lid to preserve it from being stolen. Nine months after her death the coffin was opened and the left hand was cut off and taken to Avila in a locked casket. In November 1585 the body itself was moved there, but a Papal brief was obtained which secured its return to Alba.

Teresa's beatification was decreed by Paul V. in 1614, and on May 16 1622 she was publicly canonised. Great effort was made to secure her recognition as the patron saint of Spain, but Santiago proved too strong to be thus deposed. But if Saint James still holds his primacy Teresa is really the national saint of Spain, whose life forms an epitome of all that is best in the Spanish character, and suggests all that is brightest in the national religion. She was forty-one before she was crucified to the world. We have seen how sore sickness and disillusionment contributed to that end. Her reputation was built up on visions and revelations over which those who are jealous for Teresa's fame do well to pass lightly. Her scheming to win the support of the Jesuits, her bargaining about the dowries of her novices, her whole bearing in the critical moments of her life furnish a strange commentary on her claims to sanctity. But when every deduction is made Teresa still remains a woman, worthy for her invincible resolve, her shrewd good sense, her masterly conduct of a forlorn hope, to stand by the side of Loyola. If monastic life were right at all Teresa's effort to purge the Augean stable is deserving of all honour. We whose lot is cast in happier times may regret that she did not become the champion of domestic purity and home piety rather than the Reformer of the monastery. Few women in history would have made a nobler

champion for such a cause. She had a warm heart which it took forty years to crush into monastic fetters, and even to the end her love for her brother and his little daughter and her warm and motherly affection for her friar Gracian reveal to us the true woman's heart beneath the coarse serge habit. It is Teresa the woman rather than Teresa the Saint that makes this new biography a worthy introduction to one of the most fascinating figures of ecclesiastical history.

ART. VII.—WATER SUPPLY.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into the Water Supply of the Metropolis*, 1893.
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply*, 1868-9.
3. *The Rivers Pollution Prevention Acts*, 1876, 1893; *A Bill to make more effectual Provision for Prevention of the Pollution of Rivers and Streams (H.L.)*, 1893.
4. *Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Conferences of the Society of Arts on National Water Supply, Sewage, and Health*, 1879, 1880; *Report of the Conference of the Society of Arts on Water Supply, held at the International Health Exhibition, July 1884*. (Published in the Journals of the Society.)
5. *A History of Private Bill Legislation*. By FREDERICK CLIFFORD, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Butterworths. 1887.

ROYAL Commissions and Select Committees seldom receive due recognition from the public for the important services they render to the State in conducting the preliminary inquiries essential to sound legislation, and the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Water Supply of the Metropolis are therefore to be congratulated on having solved a difficult problem in a manner which has earned general approbation.

The question they have been called on to decide is one of vital importance both to the Metropolis and to all the towns deriving their water supply from the Thames and the Lea, and at the same time closely affects the interests of eight great water companies, of the Conservators of the Thames and of the Lea, and of the London County Council. In addition to its financial, legal, and municipal aspects, it also involves geological, chemical, medical, and engineering considerations, which have necessitated the examination of a mass of scientific evidence as to the practicability of various schemes for improving the water supply of the Metropolis, the sources available for providing it, and the means to be adopted for preserving its purity.* On a question of such magnitude it is natural to expect some divergences of opinion, and the Report of the Commission is rendered more noteworthy by the fact that a considerable number of its members are believed at the outset of the inquiry to have been adverse to the conclusions at which they unanimously arrived at its close.

The value of the work of the Commission is not, however, limited to its results, useful as they are, with regard to Metropolitan water supply. It has also clearly demonstrated the importance of certain principles and facts, the due recognition of which should prove of invaluable assistance in dealing with the cognate and more extensive question of the water supply of the remainder of the kingdom, the duty of providing for which will now, under the Local Government Act of 1893, largely devolve on the parish and district councils which it has established. It may therefore be useful to review the past history of water supply, and to consider what effect the conclusions of the Commission, if adopted by the Legislature, are calculated to have on its future development and on that of the science of water conservancy, of which, together with navigation, fishery, and the drainage and irrigation of land, it forms one of the branches.

1. Water conservancy is still in its infancy as a science, and it labours under the disadvantage that, while it aims at the scientific treatment of all the water received from the clouds

* Cf. *Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply*, 1893, pp. 1-5.

—the original source of all water supply—which is disposed of by evaporation, percolation, or flow into streams and rivers, the various purposes for which water is available have, of necessity, acquired importance at different periods, and have therefore been developed independently and sometimes antagonistically to each other. Broadly speaking, this gradual adaptation of the water system of every country to the various needs of its inhabitants may be said to be concurrent with the growth of civilisation. In Britain, as in other countries, the earliest settlements were made only where water occurs—on the banks of rivers and streams, or on porous soils or rocks into which the water soaks and accumulates till it flows out again as springs, or can be artificially tapped and drawn away by means of wells.* The sites thus chosen have in the majority of cases amply justified their selection, and in none more so than in that of the Metropolis, which until 1235 was principally supplied from brooks and springs, the names of which still survive in Holborn (formerly Oldbourne), Langbourne, Tyburn, and Wallbrook, and in Holy Well, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's Well.† This supply had always been supplemented, as regards the riverside population, by the Thames, but as late as 1829 21 per cent. of the population still drew their water through shallow wells and pumps from the superficial gravel. As this source gradually became contaminated from underground pollutions the percentage supplied by the companies from the river increased to 82 in 1849, 86 in 1856, and 100 in 1867, the average daily quantity of water supplied rising from 29,000,000 gallons in 1829 to 89,600,248 in 1867;‡ but though now unable to obtain water from the soil on which it stands, London, according to the Report of the Commission of 1893,§ will still be able for many years to come to procure a supply sufficient for all its requirements from the Thames and the Lea and the subterraneous watercourses underlying their watersheds. The necessity for making special provision

* Cf. a paper by Mr. W. G. Topley, F.G.S., on "Water Supply in its Influence on the Distribution of Population," read at the Conference on Water Supply at the Health Exhibition, 1884 (*Journal of Society of Arts*, vol. xxxii. p. 357).

† Clifford, vol. ii. p. 3617.

‡ Report of Royal Commission on Water Supply, 1868, p. 106.

§ Report of Royal Commission on Water Supply, 1893, p. 71.

for water supply did not in fact make itself generally felt till the development of our mineral resources and manufactures began to convert small towns into cities, and to create new ones on sites where the supply was so small and bad that no settlements would otherwise have been made there, and the history of this branch of water conservancy is therefore less "ancient" than any other. The Legislature began to regulate fishery in 1285,* and navigation in 1293.† The statutory history of Commissioners of Sewers as bodies charged with the prevention of floods dates from 1428 (1 Hen. VI. c. 8), and the first local Act for the drainage and reclamation of land was passed in 1535 (27 Hen. VIII. c. 35). The first private Acts relating to water supply, on the other hand, were not passed till the middle of the sixteenth, and the first public Act on the subject not till the middle of the present century.

The duty of supplying towns with water appears in early times to have been entrusted to the municipal authorities, and there does not appear to be any evidence of their applying to the Legislature for assistance in performing it till 1541, when the Mayor and Dean of Gloucester were jointly authorised by the 33 Hen. VIII. c. 35, to renew the ancient conduits, which had long been used for conveying water to the City, and to dig for springs. Two years later another private Act (35 Hen. VIII. c. 10) conferred similar powers on the Corporation of London, and these enactments are noteworthy, both as being the earliest of the kind, and also on account of their carefully drawn compensation clauses in case of injury to private owners, which show the growing respect paid to vested interests. The efforts so frequently made during recent years to take over the water service from private companies are thus, as Mr. Clifford points out, evidences of a desire to return to the old system.‡ One of the first instances of private enterprise as regards water supply appears to be the arrangement made in 1581 between

* 13 Ed. I. c. 47, establishing a close time for salmon in the Humber, Ouse, Trent, and ten other rivers.

† 21 Ed. I. The first Act as to river police was passed in 1430, and river dues were first legalised in 1503.

‡ *History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. i. pp. 9, 249, 256.

the Corporation of London and Peter Morice, a Dutchman in the service of Sir Christopher Hatton, for supplying certain districts in the City with water from the Thames, by means of a water-wheel erected under the first arch of London Bridge. Though these works do not seem to have ever brought the "adventurers" any great profit, they lasted as long as the bridge itself, a period of nearly 250 years.* In 1613, Sir Hugh Middleton carried out the powers granted by Parliament—presumably in extension of those conferred in 1543—to the Corporation in 1605-7,† but more than a century elapsed between the establishment by him of the New River Company and that of the Chelsea Company, incorporated in 1723. The Lambeth Company was incorporated in 1785, the Grand Junction in 1798, the Southwark and Vauxhall in 1805, the West Middlesex in 1806, the East London—which, however, acquired waterworks at Shadwell and East Ham, originally established in 1669 and 1747—in 1808, and the Kent Company in 1809.‡ In 1857, according to a Parliamentary Return of that year, the total number of water companies "known to the Home Office" as in existence in England and Wales was only *seventy-four*, including the eight in the Metropolis; but as water companies have never been required to report to this or any other Governmental Department, this estimate cannot be regarded as of any great value.

The fact that there is no official authority from whom information respecting the numbers and financial position of the water companies and the local authorities supplying water in the United Kingdom can be obtained, will be generally admitted to be one for which it is difficult to account, and it certainly cannot be ascribed either to the want of public interest in the question of water supply, or the neglect of Parliament to deal with it. Between 1821 and 1893, "water supply" has been investigated by ten Select Committees of the House of Commons, a Select Committee of the House of Lords, a Government Commission, a Board of Trade Commission, and nine Royal Commissions. It has also been "reported on" by the Poor-Law Commissioners, the General Board of

* *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 52-55.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

‡ *Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply*, 1893, pp. 6-9.

Health, the Privy Council, the Treasury, the Local Government Board, the Registrar-General, and the Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London. Lastly, it has been long and carefully studied by over a dozen of the principal learned societies of the Metropolis, including the Institution of Civil Engineers, which commenced its investigations as early as 1839, the Epidemiological Society, the Institution of Surveyors, the Society of Arts, the British Association, and the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, besides numerous kindred societies in the provinces. Of these, the Society of Arts, which began the task in 1854, has probably been more instrumental than any other body in bringing the subject before the public, by its promotion of a series of conferences on water supply, sewage, and public health, commenced in 1876, the most important of which was that suggested by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales in 1879, and the last of which was held at the International Health Exhibition of 1884. A volume of *Notes on Previous Inquiries*, published by the Society prior to the Conference of 1879, comprises an exhaustive catalogue of the literature of the subject in its various branches, the extensive nature of which may be gathered from the fact that the Reports of the Royal Commissions alone fill *twenty* volumes;* those of the Select Committees another *twenty*, and those of the other Commissions and Governmental Departments over *sixty* volumes; while the publications of the London Societies are contained in *eighty-eight* volumes.

Legislation on the subject, a considerable proportion of which consists of private Acts, has been equally voluminous, and may be divided into that relating to the companies and local authorities supplying water to the public, and that relating to the prevention of pollution.

With regard to the first of these heads, the earliest and most important statute is the Waterworks Clauses 1847, subsequently amended by the Waterworks Clauses Act 1863, the chief object of which was to embody in one general enactment sundry provisions, such as those prescribing dividends, &c. &c., which had previously to be repeated in each Act authoris-

* The Commission of 1868, on River Pollution, issued no less than six Reports.

ing the construction of waterworks. The Waterworks Clauses Acts,* together with the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts,† and the Companies Clauses Consolidation Acts,‡ are now incorporated in all special Acts establishing waterworks, and companies thus authorised are empowered to take compulsorily the lands and streams and execute the works necessary for carrying on their undertakings, doing as little damage as possible, and making full compensation to owners and occupiers of the property thus acquired. They must, on the other hand, furnish a constant supply of pure wholesome water, laid on at such pressure as will reach the highest houses, and sufficient for the domestic use of all inhabitants entitled to demand it, to every part of the district within their limits; and must also, at the request and at the cost of the local authority, furnish at special rates water for cleansing sewers and drains, watering streets, and supplying public cisterns, baths, and wash-houses. Water rates are paid by the consumer according to the rateable value and not according to consumption, and as the companies do not supply by meter for domestic purposes, and, notwithstanding stringent legislation for their protection, have therefore no control over waste, their profits have not equalled those yielded by gas companies, although, unlike the latter, they sell an article for which they pay nothing. It is pointed out by Mr. Clifford that the poor thus obtain a cheap supply of water at the cost of other classes of the community—"a distinct social benefit, though this approach towards the principles of Socialism is not always recognised, and would be better made by more direct methods."§

Though the Waterworks Clauses Act of 1847 must be admitted to be in itself a most valuable measure, it is much

* 10 & 11 Vict. c. 17, and 26 & 27 Vict. c. 93.

† Passed in 1845, 1860, and 1869 respectively for consolidating the provisions usually contained in Acts relating to the purchase of land for public purposes.

‡ 8 Vict. c. 16, 26 & 27 Vict. c. 118, and 32 & 33 Vict. c. 68, consolidating the law regulating companies incorporated for carrying on undertakings of a public nature.

§ *History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. i. p. 249. It may be added that the Labouring Classes Lodging House Act, 1850 (14 & 15 Vict. c. 36), authorises water companies and other persons entrusted with the management of waterworks to supply lodging-houses under the Act in their discretion "either without charge or on such favourable terms as they shall think fit."

to be regretted that the Legislature neglected to avail itself of the opportunity it afforded of providing against the evils of private monopoly. Only two years before it was passed the Royal Commission "to inquire into the state of large towns and populous districts" had recommended that "the construction of waterworks for purposes of private gain should be authorised only upon pre-arranged terms and conditions of purchase on behalf of the public;" and that "waterworks should, if possible, be entrusted to the local authorities, who were also responsible for drainage and paving." These recommendations of the Commission were endorsed by a Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1846, to whom its Report was referred, together with the Bills for the establishment of new waterworks, and the Improvement Bills of the Session. The Committee were of opinion that "such provisions were essential for the protection of the public," but Parliament, which apparently shared the then popular belief in competition as a sovereign remedy, ignored alike its suggestions and those of the Commission, thus rendering itself responsible for the endless friction between private and public interests, which now results from every attempt to transfer waterworks from companies to local authorities, and which it may indeed be said to have fostered by legislating alternately on behalf of both parties to the conflict. Thus, in 1870, it authorised companies not possessing parliamentary powers—which otherwise carry on their work at their own risk, and can only acquire land and water and levy tolls by agreement—to supply water in districts in which there is no "existing company, corporation, body of commissioners, or person empowered by Act of Parliament" to do so;* and in 1877 it empowered landowners of limited interests to charge their estates with sums personally expended by them on or subscribed to a company for the construction of waterworks on the same conditions as those on which they are chargeable, under the Improvement of Land Act 1864, with respect to subscriptions for the construction of railways and canals.† On

* By the Gas and Water Facilities Act (33 & 34 Vict. c. 70), which was amended in 1873 by the 36 & 37 Vict. c. 89.

† The Limited Owners Reservoirs and Water Supply Further Facilities Act 1877 (40 & 41 Vict. c. 31).

the other hand, by the Public Health Act 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55), which repealed a series of previous enactments with the same object—the Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847, the Public Health Act 1848, the Local Government Act 1858, and the Sanitary Acts of 1866 and 1874—it imposed the duty of providing a pure and wholesome supply of water “proper and convenient for public and private purposes” on urban and rural authorities, and invested them with nearly all the powers given to water companies by the Waterworks Clauses Act; while it at the same time authorised the latter bodies to contract to supply them with water, and to lease or sell their works to them. Though they have thus been hindered rather than helped by legislation, local authorities, owing to the growth of wealth and public spirit in our provincial towns, have, however, been enabled not only to undertake the supply of water in small scattered districts not likely to yield a profit to private enterprise, but also gradually to regain the control they originally possessed over it in the majority of our big cities.* By far the larger proportion of these transfers have been effected by means of private legislation within the last quarter of a century at terms which, thanks to the action of Parliament, have been always liberal to the vendors. In 1868, out of twenty-one of the largest provincial towns, eleven were supported by private companies and the remainder by local authorities.† In 1879 more than 270 municipal bodies had the water supply in their own hands;‡ and while the total capital raised by private companies and municipal authorities together on waterworks between 1848 and 1864 amounted to only £22,000,000, that raised by local authorities alone in 1884 was £42,894,000.§ In Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Leeds, Dundee, Aberdeen, and many other places in Great Britain, waterworks have been acquired by the municipalities, and London now stands almost alone in its continued supply by

* Clifford, p. 256.

† *Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply*, 1869, App. A.M., p. 97.

‡ Return (H.C.) of 1879 by Local Government Board containing answers from 944 urban sanitary authorities in England and Wales as to the sources of their water supply.

§ Return (H.C.) of 1865, and *cf.* Clifford, pp. 255 and 263 and notes.

private companies. Though solid public advantages have accrued from their possession of them it must, however, be admitted that ratepayers have not usually obtained a profit on water undertakings; while, on the other hand, the amount that may be earned by private enterprise in this respect is shown by the fact that according to the Report of the Local Government Board for 1884-5, none of the Metropolitan companies during that year paid a less dividend than $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that that paid by the New River Company was nearly 12 per cent., that by the West Middlesex between 10 and 11 per cent., and that by the Kent 10 per cent.*

As the earliest enactment prohibiting pollution—a statute of 1388 imposing a penalty of £20 on persons casting animal filth or refuse into rivers and ditches—was repealed in 1856, and no other on the subject was passed till the Gasworks and Waterworks Clauses Acts of 1847, both of which contained provisions with this object, legislation respecting it may be said to date from the same year as that for the regulation of water companies.

In this case the Legislature had at the outset to deal with the awkward fact that the Common Law, while condemning the act of pollution as in itself an infringement of the right of every riparian owner to receive the stream flowing through his lands in its natural state, at the same time permits the acquisition of the right to exercise it after its unrestrained continuance during twenty years, and has thus sanctioned the fouling of the majority of our rivers by refuse from mines and factories and by the drainage of agricultural land fertilised by artificial manures. In addition to this, the terrible outbreaks of cholera in 1847 and 1849 induced it to create a new form of pollution by express enactment. The Public Health Act, 1848 (11 & 12 Vict. c. 112)—the first of a long series of kindred statutes extending from that year to 1875, and comprising some seven relating to the Metropolis, besides nearly a dozen applying to the country at large—with the view of “improving the sanitary condition of towns,” substituted the system of sewer drainage for that of cesspools, and

* Clifford, vol. ii. p. 196.

compelled local authorities throughout the kingdom, headed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, to expend vast sums in carrying it out. The disastrous results of this policy, however, ensured its ultimate abandonment, and after the Royal Commissions of 1865 and 1868 had declared river pollution to be a national evil, Parliament began by the later Public Health Acts to prohibit local authorities from turning rivers into sewers by penalties so heavy that they would, had they been enforced, have ruined nearly all the bodies which had incurred them by obeying their original orders. Except in the case of the Thames and the Lea, both of which are controlled by a single authority invested with special powers for the purpose, all attempts of the Legislature to check pollution in special cases have, however, entirely failed, and, despite the establishment of various sewage farms in the Thames and Lea valleys during the last twenty-five years, a considerable amount of pollution still finds its way into both these rivers owing to the limited powers, extending only to ten miles, of the Thames Conservators over the tributaries of the river, and to the neglect of the sanitary authorities and County Councils on its banks to enforce the provisions of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act 1875.* Owing to its defective construction this measure, the only general enactment on the subject, has also remained a dead-letter since its passing.† While prohibiting by stringent penalties all forms of pollution in rivers, streams, canals, and lakes, it, like all similar enactments on the subject, throws the onus of instituting proceedings on individuals, who, if injured, already possess a far cheaper remedy in the shape of an action at law or an injunction in Chancery, and requires them to act only through the local authorities, who are often the chief offenders in such cases. As, therefore, it makes no provision for costs, the expense of putting it into operation has proved practically prohibitive;‡ but it has, nevertheless, in-

* *Report of the Royal Commission*, 1893, pp. 69, 70. The Conservators are also hampered by the smallness of their staff and the cumbrous procedure which they have to adopt in dealing with offenders.

† *Ibid.*, p. 69.

‡ A brief Act of two sections was passed last year (56 & 57 Vict. c. 31) with the object of amending the obscure phraseology of one of its most important provisions.

directly been productive of good results. The impossibility of enforcing it led the Lancashire County Council in 1892 to obtain a private Act for preventing the pollution of the Mersey, which, while retaining its framework amends its most glaring defects, and which has proved so beneficial that a Bill for extending its provisions to the country at large was last year introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Cross. It is much to be regretted that this useful measure failed to become law, but the fact that it was supported by the County Councils Association seems to justify the hope that Parliament may before long be induced to pass an Act based on similar lines.

2. It will be evident from the above summary, that, like so many others in the present day, the question of water supply has assumed importance only through the growth of population, and that the multiplicity of issues involved has forced the Legislature to content itself with directing as best it could the fluctuations of public opinion without attempting any definite system. It has alternately encouraged private enterprise to acquire a monopoly of providing water supply and aided local authorities, by resuming the functions which they for a time voluntarily surrendered, to prevent their doing so; has at one time sanctioned pollution for industrial purposes and enjoined it on sanitary authorities, and at another prohibited it by heavy penalties; and, disregarding the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1868, it still permits each locality to select the sources of its supply without regard to the interests of any other.

The Report of the Commission of 1893 shows the latest results of this policy of experiment as regards the Metropolis, the water supply of which, as already stated,* was entrusted to Peter Morice by the Corporation in 1581. So well have Morice's successors, the water companies, utilised the opening thus given to private enterprise since that date, that all attempts to deprive them of the monopoly they have acquired have, by forcing them to improve and extend their undertakings, only served to strengthen their position. The House of Commons Committee appointed in consequence of the com-

* See *ante*, pp. 314, 315.

plaints of local authorities and ratepayers in 1821, reported that "the present supply of water to London is superior to that enjoyed by any other city in Europe." The Royal Commission appointed in 1827-8 on account of the increase of pollution in the Thames produced no legislation, while it compelled the companies to take fresh measures for ensuring the purity of the water they supplied. The two most important efforts made in Parliament to take water supply out of the hands of the companies—Sir George Grey's Bill of 1851 for their amalgamation under State supervision, and Mr. (now Lord) Cross's Bill for their purchase in 1880—both failed on account of the too favourable terms offered to them; and the impossibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to what these terms should be still prevents the adoption of the recommendation of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Bill of 1880, that metropolitan water supply "should be placed under the control of some public body which shall represent the interests and command the confidence of the water consumers."

Lastly, the Royal Commission of 1867, which confirmed the conclusions of the Select Committee of the same year on the East London Water Bills, after examining several schemes for supplying London from a distance,* reported that, with the construction of storage reservoirs, and supplemented by the water obtainable from the chalk to the south and east of London, the Thames and Lea would together furnish a total of 300,000,000 gallons daily, sufficient for the supply of "any probable increase of the metropolitan population"; and, while urging the adoption of efficient measures for checking pollution, they pronounced the water supplied by the companies, who, with moderate additions to their engineering powers, were prepared to supply a quantity little short of this amount, to be "quite unobjectionable, and in no way prejudicial to health."

The Report of the Commission of 1893 strikingly coincides with that of the Commission of 1868 in all its most essential features. During the quarter of a century that has elapsed

* One by Mr. Bateman proposed to convey water from North Wales by an artificial conduit.

between the publication of the two, the population of the Metropolis—the increase of which to 5,000,000 was regarded by the first as “a very remote contingency”—has risen from 3,222,720 to 5,633,332, and the area selected by the Commission of 1893 as a basis for estimating its probable amounts and requirements forty years hence is contained in a circle, with a radius of fifteen miles drawn round Charing Cross as a centre, and covers 701 square miles.* The population of this area will, it is estimated, have increased to 11½ millions by 1931, and the Commission are of opinion that the Thames and Lea valleys will still be able then to yield a sufficient quantity of water of sufficiently good quality for its use without prejudice to the inhabitants of those valleys. The water supplied to the consumer in London is, in their opinion, of “a very high standard of excellence and purity,” and “suitable in quality for all household purposes.” They estimate that an average daily supply of 40 million gallons can be obtained from wells and springs in the chalk of the Lea valley without affecting material interests, and a daily average supply of 27½ million gallons from wells in the chalk area on the south side of the Thames in the district of the Kent Company, but recommend that companies and local authorities pumping water from the chalk should be required to return accurate accounts of the effect of their operations to the water examiner. The river Lea will, in their opinion, with adequate additions to the present system of storage, yield 52½ million gallons daily. Lastly, they calculate that it will be possible, by the construction of storage reservoirs in the Thames valley,† at no great distance above the intakes of the companies, to obtain an average daily supply of 300 million gallons, without taking in any objectionable part of the flood water, and leaving a daily quantity of not less than

* This comprises the whole of the district termed by the General Register Office “Greater London”—the area which includes the Metropolitan and City and Police districts, and parts of “Water London,” the area over which the South Metropolitan Water Companies exercise Parliamentary powers. The administrative County of London is included within “Greater London.”—*Report*, pp. 5, 11.

† Of the schemes submitted to them for this purpose the Commission gave the preference to one by Mr. Walter Hunter, M.I.C.E. (Director), and Mr. Alexander Fraser, M.I.C.E. (Engineer), of the Grand Junction Company, which consisted in the construction of reservoirs at Staines (*Report*, p. 33).

1000 million gallons to flow down into the tidal portions of the river—an arrangement which they believe could be effected in such a manner as to secure that the volume of water left in at times of exceptional drought should be substantially greater than it is under existing conditions. The total daily supply to be obtained from these sources and by these methods will, the Commission estimate, be 420 million gallons—a quantity sufficient to supply 33 gallons a head to a population of 12,000,000 persons, which is about three-quarters of a million in excess of what the total population of the area they have selected will have become in 1891, even if the ratio of increase in the decennial period from 1881 to 1891 is fully maintained.*

Considered in connection with the conflicting claims of local authorities and private enterprise as regards water supply, the Report of the Commission seems to prove that, whatever may be the case in other localities, the largest city in the world has, at all events, not much reason to complain of the results of the latter, and that there is much to be said for the opinion expressed by the Select Committee of 1867, that any attempt to disturb the arrangements made under the Act of 1852 would "only end in entailing a waste of capital and an unnecessary charge upon owners and occupiers in the Metropolis."†

In addition to this, however, it shows conclusively that under proper management rivers can be used as sources of water supply for the populations on their banks without injury to navigation or industrial enterprise, and that watershed areas should therefore constitute the units of administration for water supply.‡ This principle, which has been generally accepted by all authorities on water reform for the last thirty years, was in substance affirmed by the Royal Commission on Water Supply of 1868, who were instructed to inquire into the supply of provincial towns, and the gathering grounds in various parts of the country generally available for water supply,

* *Report*, pp. 71, 72.

† *Report*, p. 9. Cf. Clifford, p. 159-60.

‡ Cf. a paper by Mr. J. Lucas read before the Annual Conference of the Societies on Water Supply, 1879 (*Report of Proceedings*, p. 16).

as well as into that of the Metropolis. Though they declined to go into this larger question on account of the magnitude of the inquiry it involved they recommended tha :

"No town or district should be allowed to appropriate a source of supply which naturally belongs to a town or district nearer to such source unless under special circumstances which justify the appropriation ; that when any town or district is supplied by a line of conduit from a distance, provision ought to be made for the supply of all places along such line ; and that in the introduction of any provincial Water Bill, attention should be drawn to the practicability of making the measure applicable to as extensive a district as possible.*

The future requirements of our constantly increasing population, and the powers of experimentalising with regard to water supply conferred on the newly created district and parish councils, would alike seem to make the early adoption of these recommendations a matter of vital importance. It is manifest, however, that, as has been pointed out by an able writer on the subject,† in order to carry them out effectually it will be necessary to map out the country in watershed districts, each containing one or more river basins, to be placed under the control of authorities appointed for the purpose, with the assistance of competent legal and engineering advisers. The prevention of floods—the establishment of similar bodies for which formed the object of various unsuccessful Bills based on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords of 1877 on Conservancy Boards—and the duty of providing against pollution, might reasonably be assigned to the same authorities ; and were they entrusted with the general supervision, not only of all the waterworks, but of all the rivers, canals, and watercourses in their districts, they would be well calculated to effect the practical realisation of the theory of water conservancy—the scientific regulation of all the water falling on these islands from its first arrival in the form of rain or dew until it reaches the sea. That theory is based on the incontrovertible fact that the various branches of water con-

* *Report*, p. 128.

† See an Essay by Mr. F. Toplis read before the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts on Water Supply, 1879, for which a silver medal was awarded (*Report of Proceedings*, pp. 3-15).

servancy are interdependent, and so long as this remains unrecognised, and they are treated as conflicting, there is no doubt that each, and none more than water supply, will suffer in consequence.

ART. VIII.—THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND THE
LIFE OF TO-DAY.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

The Incarnation and Common Life. By B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Religion in History and in Modern Life. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

The Kingdom of God is Within You. By Count LEO TOLSTOÏ. Translated from the Russian by A. Delano. London: Walter Scott. 1894.

THE object of this article is to ask a large question, and supply a small fragment of the needed answer. What are some of the special features in the life of our time, the life of England in the closing years of the nineteenth century, which demand special attention and action on the part of the Christian churches of this country? It is taken for granted that there are such special features. No generation is without them; but that in which we live has been marked by common consent as presenting characteristics of peculiar interest, and problems of peculiar difficulty. It is taken for granted, moreover, that the Christian Church possesses special responsibilities and duties in relation thereto, and that in all probability special action will be found necessary or desirable. The Christian religion is one, indivisible and unchangeable. Its principles remain the same. "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, yea, and for ever." But the religion which

thus abides is not fixed in immobility, unvarying, unaltering, irresponsible, and therefore ineffective. Christendom is a living organism, and the religion which has formed it is organic also. It possesses the freedom, the elasticity, the adaptability of a living organism with a living head. It is the duty of every generation of Christians afresh to conceive and afresh to present the character and claims of a religion which has a fresh message for every fresh generation. Christianity in its fulness and glory has never yet been completely realised. Every age of the Church has been imperfectly Christian; its conception and presentation of the truth and spirit of the Master has been at best partial and defective, and in some respects erroneous. Simply to fall back on traditional conceptions and aims is therefore suicidal. The children may not be better than their fathers; in some respects, they may be greatly inferior. But they have a work of their own to do, and fidelity to its high commands requires a new mastery and new application of old principles to new, perhaps unprecedented needs. Rightly to understand and adequately to meet those needs is a task of fascinating interest, but it opens up problems which may well baffle the wisest mind and daunt the bravest heart.

The books which we have named at the head of this article are a small selection from a vast literature. Men's minds are awake. Church and world are alike on the alert. The phrase "social problems" has become a kind of cant catchword. It would have been as easy to cite the titles of forty recent books relevant to our present subject, as of four. Those selected are representative only. They possess this feature in common, that they deal more or less definitely with the secular characteristics and needs of our day, and at the same time recognise the importance of religion as a factor in the determination of its problems. The standpoint of each is different. Mr. Kidd's *Social Evolution* is written from the point of view of science. The author's religious opinions, if he have any, are not allowed to appear. He is a student of society, and the forces at work in society. It is his business to describe the processes which appear to him to be going on in the moulding and modifying of national institutions and character; and whilst his book possesses this feature in common with an almost

countless host of others, it stands alone, so far as we know, in recognising the work which religion has done in this process already, and the part which still remains for religion to perform. Count Tolstoi's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* represents the views of a writer who may be described as a Christian Anarchist. His study of society has brought him to the conclusion that it is rotten to the core, built up on false foundations from the beginning, and he advocates entire reconstruction, based upon a literal interpretation of certain words of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. Bishop Westcott stands as a representative Anglican, and Dr. Fairbairn as a representative Nonconformist, each to be placed in the very front rank of able and thoughtful Christian teachers, who are agreed in considering the question propounded in the opening of this article as not only important, but urgent in the highest degree, and they have severally given to it answers such as they are at present able to find. The Bishop of Durham's interest in social questions has been proved on many occasions, not least by the formation of the Christian Social Union, a body at present somewhat incoherent in its utterances, but apparently feeling its way to a more definite and sustained course of action. Dr. Fairbairn represents a freer type of religious thought and life, and therefore his testimony, when he agrees with the Bishop of Durham, is of the greater weight. Both these eminent men, however, speak as yet with considerable reserve. The *Incarnation and Common Life* is only a volume of sermons and addresses, and *Religion in History and in Modern Life* consists of Lectures republished in company with an essay on "The Church and the Working Classes." Both volumes are interesting rather on account of what they suggest than for the definite guidance they give on perplexed questions.

It will be seen, therefore, that this paper cannot take the character of a review. We are glad to name the above volumes as all deserving, for different reasons, the attention of students of current problems. But readers will receive but little help from any of them towards the solution of the most pressing difficulties. We do not regard this as discouraging. The writer whom we should most distrust would be the man who

came prepared with a number of solutions, ready cut and dried, of problems the very conditions of which have hardly yet been mastered. Under such circumstances the confident guide is the self-condemned guide. The Christian army has plenty of actual work to do, there is no need for a moment's idleness. But for the strategics of the next decade or generation, it is necessary for the leaders rather to think than to act, and those advisers will most commend themselves, who, like Bishop Westcott and Dr. Fairbairn, are not too forward to suggest schemes, but prefer at present to indicate principles.

Our function is far humbler. We desire only to open up a great question for consideration. In a sense, it is presented probably in every number of this REVIEW. In a sense, it is never absent from the minds of thoughtful Christian men. But the connected presentation of a case for consideration, with some suggestions as to the principles which should guide Christian thought and action, is not an impossible, though it is unquestionably an arduous task. To attempt it and to fail may be better than not to have attempted it at all. To remind our readers of the existence of a field we are incompetent to traverse will not be without its uses.

It has been said that at the present time "there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of Western civilisation is drawing to a close, and that we are entering upon a new era." The signs of something like this are at all events apparent in our own country, and the condition of England is a fair indication of what will be found, of course with considerable modifications, in France, Germany, the United States, and "Greater Britain" generally. The phrase "a stage of civilisation" is, however, large and vague, and can only be justified, if it should appear that in political, industrial, economical, and social affairs changes are taking place, or directly impending, which are likely to affect fundamentally the thoughts and institutions of Western nations. Let us confine ourselves to our own country, and see how far the generalisation is justifiable.

In political life a revolution is proceeding, in comparatively silent and orderly fashion, it is true, but a revolution none the less. Sixty years ago political power in this country was

lodged in the hands of the middle classes, but since that time a series of measures has transferred it to the lower classes, and now democracy, in the sense of the government of the people, by the people, for the people, is fairly established. That is a commonplace. But the bearing of the fact lies in this, that there is now no political party in this country which either in name or in reality is disposed to interfere with the fullest exercise of this power on behalf of the multitude; that they are only just beginning to exercise it; that at present the dominant ideas likely to influence them, and the main objects they are likely to pursue, are largely unknown; but, as far as can be seen, they are likely to differ in kind rather than in degree from those which have swayed the middle classes, whose power is distinctly on the wane. Political emancipation has largely been accomplished. The relics of a former state of things, the shreds of power still in the hands of privileged classes, are so few, that hardly any one cares about them. An agitation against the House of Lords loses its pith and point when it is well known that the nation has only to speak clearly for its will to become law. The conditions under which Peers may best exercise the functions of a second chamber are quite a matter of detail and organisation. Political enfranchisement, then, being well-nigh complete, another class of questions is coming to the front, so different in their character and so little understood in their bearings, that it is quite certain their consideration and decision will form a new political era. Partisans on both sides perceive this, but no one can say yet precisely how the new lines of cleavage will run, or how party-government will be affected by the change.

If the nineteenth century has witnessed a silent and orderly political revolution in this country, it is no less certain that an economical and industrial revolution has been in progress. The advance made during the Victorian era in physical science, and the immense development given to industry by the application of scientific discoveries, needs no exposition or comment from us. This again is a commonplace of history; but the progress of a material kind, in machinery, in locomotion, in commerce, in telegraphy, in all the means and appliances of comfortable and luxurious living, has been accompanied, as

might have been expected, by changes of another kind, more subtle, less easily perceptible, but no less real and in some respects even more potent and significant. The advance in education has produced changes for which many are by no means prepared. The relation between classes and strata of society has changed and is changing still further. Population is rapidly shifting. Ideas travel swiftly, and some of the ideas which have sped from country to country during the last twenty-five years have been of the kind which shake thrones and are capable of dissolving the very fabric of society. The reign of authority is over. Every institution must defend itself, with little or no help from traditional beliefs or argument based upon the experience of the past. Vessels of all kinds are thrown into the crucible, and of some of them it is hard indeed to say in what shape they will come out.

With all these vital and far-reaching changes, there has been no adequately corresponding change in the physical and social condition of the working classes. A great, a wonderful improvement has, indeed, taken place. A careful comparison of the life of the artisan and his family at the beginning of this century and the life of a man in a similar position to-day would reveal quite a startling advance in wages, food, housing, and that standard of cleanliness and comfort which is demanded to make life worth living. But the improvement in the condition of the skilled and thrifty artisan is probably not proportionate to the advance made by the community at large, while the condition of the lower portion of the labouring class is in many respects most lamentable. The "condition of England question" which stirred the choler of Carlyle fifty years ago, so far from being settled, is, *mutatis mutandis*, much where it was then.

Professor Huxley, who has the gift of saying trenchantly what many others are dimly feeling, said some four years ago, "Even the best of modern civilisations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its

consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion are to make no difference in the extent and intensity of the want with its concomitant physical and moral degradation amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation." * Mr. Henry George holds the condition of a Black Fellow of Australia or an Esquimaux in the Arctic Circle to be preferable to that of a man in the lowest classes of a civilised country like Great Britain. If it be said that Professor Huxley is a pessimist and Mr. Henry George an agitator, it would not be difficult to adduce a hundred testimonies of qualified witnesses who would corroborate in less vigorous language the opinions thus emphatically expressed. Mr. Charles Booth proves quietly in statistical tables what Professor Huxley condenses into an epigram. Both figures and phrases tell in different language a story the stern significance of which we have yet to appreciate.

At present we are only concerned with these signs of the time so far as they show its critical condition and the imminence of yet further changes. The conclusions drawn from a survey of the industrial history of the century are different in different quarters, but the mildest of them are startling. The outspoken denunciations of the existing order which come from extreme men have little weight with the sober-minded. Yet it will be noticed that of the excited speeches delivered or incendiary pamphlets published by members of the "International" the portions best worth considering are those which describe existing evils. Here many of these men speak what they truly know, and what they cannot but deeply feel. Their premisses are sound, however wild and impossible their conclusions. The number of those who are dissatisfied with the very fabric of our industrial and social life is not so small, nor is the intelligence of many of them so low, that wise men should regard them as by any means a negligible quantity in the present situation.

Side by side with this industrial development, and partly, perhaps, in consequence of it, we find a notable change taking

"Government: Anarchy or Regimentation," *Nineteenth Century*, May 1890.
Quoted by Kidd, p. 4.

place in the views of political economists. It is not so much that the science itself has changed from the days of Adam Smith and Ricardo. Their work remains as true as ever, and in some respects as valuable as ever. But the limits of that work are more clearly understood. Partly it is seen that even in the region of economics forces are to be taken into the account which the earlier economists slighted or ignored. But to a greater degree the change results from a closer limitation of the field of economical science in its relation to man. The hierarchy of the sciences is more carefully observed. Ethics takes in hand the conclusions of political economists, and in her handling and application so changes some of them that they become hardly recognisable. Professor Alfred Marshall fairly represents the new school, and the pages of his *Principles of Political Economy* show how far the science has advanced even since the days of John Stuart Mill. *Laissez-faire* is more than doomed, it has been executed without benefit of clergy. King Log is dead, but there is some fear whether it may not be found that King Stork has taken his place.

The rise and prevalence of Socialism is an obvious feature in the situation. The word is used, however, with bewildering vagueness, and is employed to describe theories essentially different in character. Properly speaking, it applies only to theories which would entirely reconstruct our present industrial system, substituting for the present modes of production by means of individual energy and the free competition of capital and labour, production by means of collective organisation of labour for common ends. Socialism desires to put an end to that personal struggle for existence which has been the ruling feature of industrialism thus far, and to effect a redistribution of wealth on the principle that income is proportioned to service, every member of the community being equally entitled to a share in the proceeds of common labour. The word is, however, for the most part freely applied to proposals which not only come far short of this, but which are really opposed to it in principle. State Socialism aims at concentrating into the hands of the State the control of production, where its retention in private hands may be shown to interfere with the welfare of the general community. The name is frequently

applied to that tendency, obviously growing rapidly in strength, which would strengthen the poorer and weaker classes of the community at the expense of the stronger and wealthier. But the principle of individual liberty and free competition is not hereby interfered with. It may be limited; some systems would fetter it very considerably. But all such projects are separated by a wide gulf from Socialism proper, which would sever the very nerve by which the present social organism is moved and directed, attempting instead to initiate a constitution of society new in its essential principle, as well as in its outward form.

The difficulties which beset Socialism proper are so vital that they render it impossible, so long as human nature is unchanged. If the competitive forces are to be suspended in any community, the growth of population must be regulated. That in itself is a practical *reductio ad absurdum* of the system. Further, the removal of the stimulus of free competition would inevitably produce social degeneracy. Any community so organised would suffer if surrounded by nations which the present keen rivalry is keeping at their full tension and in their highest productive activity, and the history of the community which had undertaken to "drive out Nature with a pitch-fork" might be easily prophesied. But the same objections do not hold against a system which simply seeks to modify in favour of certain classes of the community the unrestricted working of forces which are grinding, swiftly and inexorably, certain portions of it to powder. Not only are such modifications possible, but many, in the shape of Factory Acts, Poor Laws, and Land Acts, have long been beneficially at work amongst us. The extent to which this modification of *laissez-faire* may with advantage be carried is matter of debate; the extent to which it is likely to be carried in our day is the question of practical politics. As Mr. Kidd very justly says, the power-holding classes, moved partly by pressure from without, partly by their own sense of political justice, have already yielded to the people the bulk of power and privilege, and the next step to be taken is to extend to all classes as far as possible *equal social opportunities*. The history of the accomplishment of that end is likely to constitute the

interior political history of England during the next half-century.

What is the part of the Christian Church in relation to the life of a community thus in process of orderly but complete reorganisation? If we reverse the question, and ask What is the relation of this community to the Christian Church? we grieve to say that to a lamentably large extent it bears little relation to it at all. We are by no means pessimistic. We have no inclination to indulge in vague declamation about the spread of scepticism or "rampant infidelity." The power of religion in this country is great, perhaps never was greater. One of the chief excellences of Mr. Kidd's book is his recognition of religion as a factor in bringing about the social evolution which has already taken place. Professor Alfred Marshall before him had pointed out that it was the spread of Reformation principles in this country which "liberated, as it were, into the practical life of the people, that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been from the beginning the destructive social product of the Christian religion, but which had hitherto been directed into other channels." The acceptance of Reformation principles in England saved it from a counterpart to the French Revolution. The spread of Methodism during the latter part of the last century largely helped to render possible the quiet and orderly revolution of the present century. Whence else have proceeded the "altruistic sentiments," which have made the power-holding classes ready to yield to the demand for the extension of privilege to the poor, the uneducated, the unenfranchised, the well-nigh inarticulate crowd outside? Reluctance has been shown, no doubt; but how is it that such vast concessions have been secured? The pressure of public opinion has been brought to bear; but what created and what has maintained such enlightened public opinion? A sense of justice and kindness, at the root of which undoubtedly lay an unconscious but very efficient sense of religion.

Religion is still a mighty force in our midst. None the less it remains true that whole sections of the community, especially those which now possess, but have not begun to wield the governing power, are practically alienated from the Christian

Church. The Christian religion is professed, its representatives are quite sufficiently honoured, its doctrines are not generally denied, but it is not the religion of the English people. It is the religion of sections of the people, especially certain sections of the middle class. But the doctrines of Christianity have not a vital hold of the mind, the principles of Christianity do not actually direct the life of the English people. The records of attendance at public worship are not an altogether fair test in either of these respects, but they tell their own story. Facts of another kind, which we need not delay to recite, combine to prove that the "alienated classes" amongst us are so numerous as to constitute a serious problem for the Christian Church. Dr. Fairbairn says—and in the main he is correct—that the alienation is not as much from religion as from the churches. He holds that the working man's estrangement results from a belief that

"The churches are not religious realities. There is disbelief in the churches rather than in religion, though when the disbelief becomes articulate, it tends to extend to the ideas and history involved in the claims and creeds of the churches. The distinction between disbelief in religion and in the churches may seem illicit, but is, in fact, both radical and real. The one may be said to be intellectual, but the other social or moral and emotional in its origin; the one comes to a man through education, but the other through the experiences of life." *

The distinction is an important one for the student; but the fact of alienation remains. It can hardly be said that any branch of the Christian Church, or all its branches put together, have the same hold of the working classes of our time, as Puritanism, for example, possessed in parts of the Eastern counties two hundred years ago, or Methodism of the Cornish miners at the beginning of this century, or Roman Catholicism of the Irish peasantry in either period.

If these be facts—and though very broadly and imperfectly stated, they may perhaps be admitted—what is the duty of the Christian Church in relation to them? Her duty, that is to say, over and above that general duty, always incumbent on Christ's followers, to obey His commands themselves, and do

* *Religion in History*, p. 18.

their best to win others to His service? Is there any special duty belonging to this special time? Some Christian teachers, though their number is rapidly decreasing, would answer, No. The Christian Church is organised, they would tell us, for the purpose of bringing individual men to a certain spiritual state, and only by faithfully carrying out that work can it legitimately exercise any influence on the community. Saved men will help to save the nation. A community of righteous men is righteous, and no other. With forms of government and social organisation and economical projects, the Christian Church has nothing directly to do. Her members will act as citizens according to the best of their judgment, but the principles of Christianity have no direct bearing on the constitution of society. "You have nothing to do but to save souls," the founder of Methodism said to his "helpers," and many evangelical teachers hold it their duty to limit their efforts by the application of that rule in its strictest form. But this is increasingly felt to be impossible. With Wesley, indeed, the work of saving souls included the application of Christian morality in the work of social reform. Christianity is to influence life, and life is fast changing its character. It is larger, more various, more complex than it was. If Christianity does not determine the colour and direct the course of the broad and mingled current of national life, its development in the twentieth century will first be non-Christian, and then, ere long, un-Christian, it may be, anti-Christian.

Views of a diametrically opposite character are urged by some. Count Tolstōi is so extreme as to be almost a fanatic, but he represents a view which many hold, though he presents it in exaggerated shape. He believes that the whole constitution of society is essentially opposed to the spirit and teaching of Christ. Not only war, but civil administration also is rendered impossible by the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. The only way in which the Christian can help to regenerate the world is by seeking to destroy the whole institution of the State, making no use of the law in any form—inasmuch as it ultimately rests upon a basis of compulsion—and obeying in a most literal sense our Lord's command not to resist evil. Tolstōi denounces all Christian Churches and

denominations for helping to maintain existing institutions and only seeking to correct abuses in them. It is the principle of organised government which is at fault, and the true follower of Christ must not concede, even in the least degree, a principle which contravenes his Master's command. It is hardly necessary to point out on what a mistaken exegesis and on what an unwarrantable application of our Lord's words this whole contention rests. Count Tolstoï has not many thorough-going disciples. But there are many Christians who hold—a Bishop is reported to have said—that the State could never be maintained on Christian principles, and that the idea of leavening political and social institutions with a Christian spirit is Utopian, and the attempt actually so to shape them worse than useless. Thus extremes meet. The Evangelical who holds that the powers that be are ordained of God to do their own work, and that the Gospel is given only to save individual souls is at the opposite pole from the anarchist, who holds that the State is essentially anti-Christian, and that any attempt to apply Christian teaching to its administration would shatter the whole fabric to pieces. But both agree in deprecating any Church action in relation to political and social questions.

It will not be seriously contested by any that the *main* work of the Christian Church is the renewal of *individual* life. The view of the Church and its methods taken by the Roman Catholic and the Anglican is not identical with that proclaimed by the Evangelical Free Churches of this country, and we write from the standpoint of the latter. But concerning the statement just made there would be little discussion. The regeneration of society must begin from within. The state of the organism depends upon the state of the individual cells. A new world means new men. A disorderly family will make any house filthy in a week, and the longer they stay in it, the worse it becomes. "Make the tree good and his fruit good." A church which is tempted by any characteristics or tendencies of modern life to forget this fundamental principle, or to relegate it to the background of her teaching, becomes unfaithful to her high calling, and will incur the inevitable penalty of failure.

But, this being taken for granted, it by no means follows that the work of the Church begins and ends with the individual, or begins with the individual man and ends with the organised ecclesiastical community. For these reasons: In the first place, it is impossible to draw the line between topics which affect private life only, and those which affect social life. The Christian Church hesitated for a time about taking direct action in the matter of intemperance, but has long since seen that it is impossible for her to do her proper work without bringing her influence directly to bear on temperance questions. Social purity is another subject which has forced itself upon the attention of the churches. The national evils of gambling and betting, with others that might be named, imply direct violation of moral laws, and therefore come within the purview of the Church, yet they are so identified with parts of our social life, that the Christian who has laid down a (self-invented) line for his own guidance, distinguishing between secular and sacred, between matters on which the Church ought and on which it ought not to speak, finds that he has unwittingly transgressed it again and again.

It must be said further, that, if such a hard and conventional line were to be drawn between matters properly political and matters social, the current of events above described is tending very rapidly to obliterate it. A class of questions is now engaging the attention of Parliament—the number will greatly increase during the next century—which would be described as social rather than political. They concern the personal welfare of the citizen, rather than his civil status. In proportion as this is the case, the Church becomes more closely interested in the result, and has greater claim to make her voice heard in determining it. There are some conditions of modern life which render Christian purity and service well-nigh impossible. The grace of God can work moral miracles, but the Church has no right to expect such intervention, when the means of improvement are largely within her own power. It must be said, further, that there is a stage in a man's history, in a family's history, in a nation's history, when such questions are the all-important ones. "First that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual." That is not God's order

throughout; but there are times when certain elementary considerations of sustenance, decent living, conditions of well-being which can hardly be distinguished from conditions of being, are of such pressing importance that they exclude almost all else from the field of view. Such a time we have reached in the history of certain strata of society in this country. If the Christian Church pay but slight and half-hearted attention to these, she cannot wonder if those most interested pay but slight attention to her spiritual pleas and claims.

But the main consideration is, of course, the fundamental one that Christianity embraces our whole life. Christ claims the whole man, and blesses the whole man. It is the business, as well as the interest of the Church to show the bearing of religion upon every part of life. Christianity is a religion of principles, and its principles are so broad, so deep, so vital, that no part of human life can escape them, if they be properly applied. Should any part so escape them, all the rest suffers from the deficiency. The man who would be "purely spiritual" finds the life of the spirit less healthy and vigorous than it would be if he had brought his religion fully to bear upon body and mind and earthly affections and relationships as well.

It was, perhaps, needless to travel over this familiar and elementary ground. But the time has not been wasted, if it be now freely granted that the Christian Church has a *direct*, as well as an indirect duty in relation to these striking features of the life of to-day on which we have been dwelling. If we believed that the churches of this country had fairly grasped that fact and were girding themselves to their duty, much might have been taken for granted. But we believe the position to be that the churches are waking up to the importance of a comparatively neglected portion of their work, and are asking what it is they are called upon to do. Conscience is more or less uneasy, but the path of duty does not seem to be at all clear. Are Christian ministers to turn politicians? Is Church money to be spent upon "social schemes" like that of General Booth? Are the secularities attendant upon Church-life to overwhelm and swallow up the spiritual element which forms its very vital breath?

In answering such questions, it may be premised that, when we speak of the corporate Christian Church, we necessarily mean those persons in it who are specifically concerned. Duties laid down are for the Church as a whole; what particular persons should carry them out, and how the work may best be distributed, is quite a secondary matter. Abilities and opportunities vary. To say "the Church ought to do this" means that, if the Church be what it should, men and women will not be found wanting prepared for this particular sphere of service. What is addressed to the conscience of a community must be left to find its own way to the consciences of individuals. "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

The first duty of the Church of Christ in relation to these special features in the life of our time seems to be to study them and understand them. This must be the work of the few, of those who lead. But for them thought is the first and most necessary thing. It has been taken too much for granted that any sincere Christian can see his way through such problems at once, and that generous impulses may take the place of intelligent comprehension. No mistake could be more fatal. The proverbial "running the head against a post" is but a small part of the evil. The individual head does not so much matter. But the cause of Christ comes to be identified with crude, ill-advised, and more or less impracticable, modes of dealing with difficult and complex problems, and the influence of the Christian Church is discounted from the beginning. Why should it be supposed that in this matter of all others zeal may take the place of knowledge? As Dr. Fairbairn says in his Preface, "A man who is a good exegete but an inexperienced economist, is no more able to apply the New Testament to our social and industrial problems, than the man who is an expert economist, but a stranger to the New Testament." Even the "expert economists" have hardly found their bearings in the open seas we are now encountering. Sincerity and Christian earnestness will not preserve a good man from making a fool of himself, if he lay down the law in matters he does not understand. "Let him then keep to his own department," is the natural, and it might seem, con-

clusive retort. But according to our present hypothesis, the whole man *is* his department; and these questions which so vitally affect both the commonweal and the weal of the individual cannot safely be left, and ought not in any case to be left, to the man who is "an expert economist, but a stranger to the New Testament."

If it be objected, as it is, that it is impossible for ministers to compass this, in addition to many other branches of knowledge, the reply is that the task does not concern ministers only; but that so far as they are concerned, theology will claim in vain to be queen of the sciences, and religion will claim in vain to rule the whole of life, until the results reached in various sciences and the knowledge acquired in various departments of life have been thoroughly assimilated and made tributary to the service of Him who has subjected all to man, that he may subject all to God. The perusal of such a book as Mr. Kidd's *Social Evolution* shows what a field there is before the truly religious student of sociology. Mr. Wilfrid Richmond's *Christian Economics* breaks up quite different ground, and there is virgin soil enough for many another labourer in the same field. The Christian Social Union, of which Canon Scott Holland is one of the leading spirits, is essaying to make a path through the forest, somewhat irregularly and unsatisfactorily, it must be admitted, but it is ungracious to complain of imperfection in pioneer work.* As our object in this paper is largely practical, we may add, what better object in life could religious young men, fresh from the university and entering upon professional or business life, set before themselves than the pursuit of such a study as this—the present conditions of social life in this country, and how they may best be leavened by the Christian spirit? Books will help but little in the work; it is necessary to know men and to be able to put the knowledge to use. Happily, many such efforts are being made. Toynbee Hall, Mansfield House, the Bermondsey Settlement are as yet but in their infancy. When they have reached mature age, the Church will wonder how it

* The latest manifesto of this Union that we have seen is the volume of sermons entitled *Lombard Street in Lent*. It manifests earnestness of spirit rather than maturity of practical judgment.

was possible to carry on Christian work so long without them.

When the Church has learned, it will be time enough to think of teaching. The utterances of the pulpit and of the religious press on these great questions are, it must be confessed, at present crude enough. Some of the dangers of that "little knowledge," which is proverbially so dangerous, already appear. One thing needful to remember is that it is the business of the Christian teacher to make a bridge, if we may so say, between the New Testament and the individual conscience. The Christian pastor and teacher cannot do the work of an inspired Apostle, and he must not try to do the work which belongs to the enlightened conscience of his hearers. His business is to stand between the two. The principles of the New Testament are too general for most people to know exactly how to apply them in new and untried regions. On the other hand, the immediate, detailed, personal application must be made by every man for himself. The function of the Christian Church in her prophetic or teaching office is to show how the precepts of Christ bear upon the new questions which are constantly arising in the complex life of modern society. But it is still with principles that the Christian teacher has to do. When he comes to deal with individual cases he is apt to err, and at best stumbles into a casuistry such as that which flourished in the time of Jeremy Taylor, and which even now in the hands of the "priest" does more harm than good to the conscience. But no one acquainted with the subject can say that the Church's work of educating the Christian conscience rightly to decide for itself on commercial, economical, and social questions has been at all adequately performed. Here again is a task ripe for such as are competent to undertake it.

Another point to be borne in mind is that the Church's work in relation to modern society must be evenly regulated, full-orbed, or in colloquial phrase, "all-round" work. There is no small danger lest the religious man who tries to make his influence felt in the life of the world, should prove to be a man of "fads" and crotchets. He is apt to see things piecemeal. It is no easy task for any one to "see life steadily and see it whole," but it is hardest of all for a man who gains but

passing glimpses of it, as if in the light of a bull's-eye lantern. Already the influence of the Church upon social life is apt to be identified with strong language at teetotal meetings and excited speeches of those who are engaged in the "opium crusade." It is well that temperance should be preached and practised, well that a country should not derive its revenue from the encouragement of any traffic or pursuit the effect of which is to demoralise its people, but it is well also that those who desire to be preachers of righteousness should possess something of the balance, temper, and well-proportioned judgment needful *δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφερόντα*, to "distinguish things that differ," and to "approve things that are excellent." Such balance and temper become absolutely essential, if the judgment of Christians is to have its due weight with men of the world by no means predisposed to listen to their voice.

Another most important element is that the counsel of the Church should be given at the right time and to the right people. The Christian Church within its own borders knows nothing, or should know nothing of class distinctions. "The rich and the poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all." Such is the language of religion, but when the teacher of religion leaves the pulpit and enters upon the complex relationships of life, when he aspires to aid in the determination of social problems, he is surrounded by rich and poor, capitalists and labourers, employers and employed. It is then no easy task for him to remember that he has precisely the same duty to the rich as to the poor, and to the poor as to the rich. His temptation may be not sufficiently to sympathise with the poor; but it may also be to flatter or pamper or gain popularity with them. It is hard to learn St. Paul's secret, "how to be abased"; it is perhaps harder to learn "how to abound." The parson has too often sided with the squire; the minister may come to fraternise with the demagogue. To understand the responsibilities as well as the privileges of property; to bear in mind the duties, as well as the claims of labour; and, without fear or favour, to utter the less pleasant and palatable truth to the persons who need it most, is no easy task. On the other hand, the prophet never scolds, though the preacher alas! often does. It is easy to "lecture" a congrega-

tion, but it does little good either to lecturer or lectured. The scolding or lecturing tone is that of a man not quite wise enough, or strong enough, or patient enough, or tender enough, to accomplish an eminently difficult task. "Who is sufficient for these things?" There is but one answer: "Our sufficiency is from God, who also made us sufficient (*ικάνωσεν ἡμᾶς*) as minister of a new covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit." A minister of such a covenant as this can only be made sufficient for his work by Divine wisdom and grace.

It is hardly necessary to add that it is the Church's work to lead, not to drive. For centuries the Church Catholic missed its way. It represented the principle of authority, not the principle of reasonable service. It commanded, it did not persuade. It instructed, it did not educate. The work of the Christian Church at this juncture in our national history is to prove itself the wisest and best of counsellors in matters in which statesmanship alone is not enough, political economy is not enough, knowledge of men and things is not enough, but where, in addition to all these, there is needed a still loftier knowledge, an insight into the needs as well as the actual state of society, a spiritual discernment which is indeed but a part of the "wisdom that cometh from above." Such counsellors are fit to lead, and such leaders good and thoughtful men will be only too glad to follow. Dictation, patronage, priestcraft, the assumption which belongs to men possessed of narrow knowledge and trained in a narrow school, are much worse than useless. Ministers of the old covenant, of the letter, are done away; the age cries out for ministers of the new, who can lead a spiritually instructed people in ways which commend themselves to all who have eyes to see. Such men are rare; but when the Church sets itself to do its part in the leavening of the whole life of the whole world, He who best understands her great need will not suffer the men to be lacking.

The greater part of the work, however, belongs to the many, not the few. The testimony which every generation needs most must come from the Church itself. This brings us to a closing series of considerations which ought, perhaps, to have had a place in the forefront. We have said comparatively little concerning the intellectual life of our time and the

unbelief which is a prominent feature in it. The reason is that we hold the true remedy for current scepticism to lie in practical witness-bearing. There is ample room for the work of Christian apologists and, happily, there is no lack of able defenders of the faith. But this in the long run is a soldier's battle; the result depends less upon the officers than upon the rank and file. Alienation from Christianity in our day means alienation from certain modes of representing the religion of Christ which have come to be erroneously identified with the Divine original in its purity and simplicity. The remedy is to re-conceive and re-present the religion of the New Testament in its bearing on the life of to-day.

This includes two parts, both important, or rather essential, though sometimes the need of the one may be felt to be greater and more pressing. Christian doctrine should be firmly grasped in its bearing upon the aspects of modern life; and the true nature of the Christian spirit and temper should be practically exhibited by the Church as a whole. These may seem to be truisms, but they are by no means platitudes. To take the illustration suggested by the title of Bishop Westcott's book, and by his teaching generally: How should men act in relation to current questions who really believe in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation? Is it possible for two men to face the great moral and social problems of our generation in precisely the same way, when one believes that man is the product of certain natural forces, resolvable at death into carbonic acid and ammonia, and the other believes that the Son of God took upon Him our nature, which He has redeemed and will glorify? To believe in the Incarnation is to face human life irradiated with celestial glory; but to many Christians it means little more than to repeat certain clauses of the Nicene Creed. Who can wonder that Christian doctrine has little hold upon the English nation, when it has so little practical hold upon the English churches?

"The message of the Incarnation touches life at every point, and we are bound to consider what it means for us, for our fellow-men, and for the world. It is not enough to hold it as an article of our Creed; we must openly and in secret prove its efficacy in action. By our reticence, by our habitual reserve in dealing with it as the master-power in shaping and sustaining our thoughts, our purposes,

our deeds, we encourage a feeling of secret mistrust as to the validity of the Faith." *

We do more. We encourage in ourselves a questioning concerning the reality of our faith. So stupendous a doctrine as that of the Incarnation—we may add, as that of the Atonement, or the Resurrection—cannot be truly held in the midst of a sense-bound and gainsaying generation, unless he who holds it is found taking the stand in relation to questions of practical importance, which marks him off from the man who holds it to be a delusion. This does not mean, as some of our fathers understood it, that the Christian is to hold aloof from the political life of the nation, but that he is to impress upon his whole view of human life that stamp and character which his creed implies. He seeks not to level down, but to level up. The work is unspeakably hard, and he will probably fail in his efforts. But he will at least have tried, humble and thoughtful endeavour implies a measure of success, and at the next attempt more complete success will be gained. Be that as it may, no apologetic can approach in cogency the spectacle of a united body of Christians to whom the belief in God having become man that man might become like God is so real and over-mastering that their whole social and political action is dominated and transfigured by it.

Christian doctrine is separated by but a hair's-breadth, by an invisible and imaginary line, from the Christian spirit and temper. It is the same thought translated into another language. Doctrine creates the ideals which temper and spirit strive to realise and embody. A belief in the significance of manhood which is begotten by a belief in the Incarnation will bear fruit too manifold to describe. It will be like the vine described by Papias, each vine with ten thousand branches, each branch with ten thousand clusters, each cluster with ten thousand grapes, all glorifying the true Vine in whom all fruitfulness abides. Here is a single specimen of a truly fruitful bough.

"The true wealth of states is men and not merchandise. The true function of government is to watch over the growth of good citizens.

* Westcott, *Incarnation and Common Life*, p. 103.

Material wealth exists for the development of man, not man for the acquisition of property. . . . Now our aim as believers in the divine life of the nation must be to secure, as far as possible, that our national inheritance shall be made fruitful as it is distributed in many parts among the people, and that each worker shall be able to thank God for the joy of his own task, and the share which he has in the common life. To this end we shall not seek to equalise material riches, but to hallow large means by the sense of large responsibility; not to palliate the effects of poverty, but to remove the causes of it; not to dispense with strenuous and even painful effort, but to provide that labour in every form may be made the discipline of noble character." *

A society truly animated by such principles would be renewed indeed. The work cannot be done by legislation, but it cannot be fully done without legislation. Legislation must not compel, but must at the same time embody and guide public opinion. It will lag behind the opinion of the wisest and best, and be in advance of the opinion of the thoughtless and the evil. It is the function of the Christian Church to form public opinion so that its embodiment in social and civil codes may forward the realisation of Christian ideals.

"Public opinion, the popular idea of right, represents the minimum, so to speak, of Christian opinion. It registers the progress of personal conviction. It finally prevails in shaping government, and industry, and conduct. It finds expression in effectual legislation within the sphere of law, and outside the sphere of law it exercises a controlling force, so that things (for example) which were common a hundred or fifty years ago are now practically impossible, and corresponding changes are still silently in progress." †

As to the fields in which such influence may be wholesomely exercised, they are unlimited in number and in extent. The whole groundwork of this article lies in the fact that in our day the solubility—if we may use the expression—of opinion is greater than for centuries past. A work of reconstruction is going on, and it is of the utmost importance that Christian influence should affect and shape it. Take only the question of marriage, the constitution of the family, the relation of children to parents and parents to children. Who that keeps his eyes open does not know that questions are being asked concerning this fundamental bond of social life, which it would have been impossible

* Bishop of Durham, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74.

† *Incarnation and Common Life*, p. 99.

to raise fifty years ago, or which, once raised, would have died down again in a moment? For better, for worse—we believe in some respects for better, though in some undoubtedly for worse—principles concerning the family that have been taken for granted for generations are being questioned, discussed, and some of them very freely denied. The position and duties of women are being re-defined. Has Christianity nothing to say concerning this except that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, "Let your women keep silence in the churches"? Dr. Fairbairn says that in whole areas of busy industrialism in Yorkshire and Lancashire, true home-life has ceased to exist. Has Christianity nothing to say to this, except to deliver evangelical homilies once a week in church or chapel? Dr. Fairbairn's own dictum in the matter is comprehensive enough in all conscience. "These two things, then, the churches ought to do their best to create and to cultivate: the faculties that need intellectual and spiritual exercise for their very being, and the opportunity and means for keeping them in exercise." The churches will have their work cut out if they but essay either of these great tasks. Yet the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ can hardly be said to have caught the spirit of her Master, unless she keep both high enterprises before her as a part of her great ideal.

The last word is, Never despair. Not the *Nil desperandum* of Horace is the Christian's motto, but the *Never despairing* of those who would be "sons of the Most High, for He is kind toward the unthankful and evil."* The patience of hope in its fulness is a Christian secret, and nothing but the glorious riches of Christian teaching can suffice to maintain it in its perpetual buoyancy and exuberance of power. Zeal is good, patience is better. The combination of the two is rare, but it is not beyond the reach of a true disciple of Christ. As Newman prays:

"Lord, who Thy thousand years dost wait
To work the thousandth part
Of Thy vast plan, for us create
With zeal a patient heart."

* See Luke vi. 35, in the Revised Version. The marginal rendering "Despairing of no man" is very suggestive.

If hope ever has her flood-tides which reach high-water mark, the present surely is one of them. The opportunities are great, the work is glorious, the inspiration is Divine. The Church of Christ in times past has sometimes been quick to see and to seize a great occasion. Sometimes she has been as conspicuously slow and incompetent to grasp it. The voice which calls her now to higher and more extended service is clear and unmistakable; each man may do something towards making her response as prompt and complete as the call is divinely imperative.

ART. IX.—THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800–1833).

By JOHN H. OVERTON, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Epworth. Longmans. 1894.

SINCE the Commonwealth Interregnum came to an end, the chief epochs which have marked out successive periods in the history of the Church of England may be set out as follows—viz., the Restoration with the Act of Uniformity, 1660–1662; the Revolution and the Nonjurors, 1688–9; the religious awakening of John Wesley under the influence of William Law, and the establishment of the Oxford Methodist Society, 1729–32; the evangelical conversion of Wesley, under the influence of the Moravians, the beginning of his career as an itinerant evangelist, and the formation of the Methodist Society for the nation, 1738–9; and, finally, after the revolution of a century, the rise of the Oxford Tractarian Movement in 1832, culminating in Tract 90 in the critical year 1839. This whole cycle of history Canon Overton may be said to have made his own, if we except only the interval between 1832 and 1839, and the history during that interval of Newman and his followers. The volume before us may be said to complete a grand cycle of English Church History, including all the period between the Restoration and the

rise of the Oxford Movement. In 1878 Messrs. Abbey and Overton published as joint authors that noble work, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, a work no less admirable for its generous tone and catholic spirit than distinguished for its learning and research, and which was in particular the first work of Anglican authorship to give a fair and thoroughly well-informed view of John Wesley and his work, whilst maintaining always an Anglican point of view. Three years later (in 1881) Canon Overton published his *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*—a subject to which he had been naturally led in his studies of Wesley's life, and in dealing with which, though he appears himself to be not a little in sympathy with Law's theological views, apart from his position as a Nonjuror, he defends Wesley in his controversy with Law more frankly and fully than some of Wesley's Methodist biographers have ventured to do. Four years later (in 1885) he published *Life in the English Church (1660-1714)*. Now in the present volume Canon Overton, who for many years has held the rectory of Epworth and lived in Samuel Wesley's parsonage, completes, as we have said, his historical cycle. Two studies have been with him almost all along his historical inquiries, the Nonjurors and the Wesleys, from Samuel and Susanna onwards. In the present volume he just loses sight of the Wesleys, though not quite of Wesley's followers, but still finds in the good layman, Joshua Watson, a sort of link with the Nonjurors, of whom indeed there was at first almost a resurrection in the Oxford Movement which began just where this volume closes. In 1732 Wesley paid his first visit to William Law, himself a Nonjuror, whose *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*, published a few years before, had made upon Wesley a profound and awakening impression, although before very long he found himself unable to follow his teacher in his deepening mysticism. A century after, in 1832, we trace the first springs of the Oxford Movement. "The great Reform agitation was going on," to quote Newman in his *Apologia*,* "the Whigs had come into power. Lord Grey had told the Bishops to set

* P. 94, First Edition.

their house in order, and some of the prelates had been insulted and threatened." Newman and Hurrell Froude took their continental tour together between December 1832 and the following Midsummer, during which tour many ideas ripened that were to find place in the new movement. On July 14, 1833, Keble preached the Assize sermon in the University pulpit, which was published under the title of *National Apostasy*, a day which Newman afterwards "kept as the start of the religious movement of 1833." Dean Church's volume on the subject is entitled *The Oxford Movement, 1833-1845*. The scope of Canon Overton's volume before us on the English Church in the present century, is limited to the period 1800-1833. His own work as Church historian has extended from the Restoration to the Reform Bill, and has included the century and a half between the rise of the Nonjurors under William III. and the recrudescence for a time of Nonjuring principles under the influence of Keble and Froude in connection with the earliest phase of the Oxford Movement. He has shown himself equally well informed, and almost equally fair in dealing with Nonjurors, Latitudinarians or Eighteenth Century Low Churchmen, High Churchmen, Methodists, and Evangelicals. He fails at times to understand the position of Methodism—it would have been a miracle if a semi-Coleridgean High Churchman, being also a Canon of Lincoln, had been altogether free from such defect.* But, on the whole, his generous impartiality is not more manifest than his clear and wide intelligence in dealing with the various parties and influences with which the course of his narrative has brought him into contact. And if, in the history of his Church in the preceding century, he and his fellow-worker, Mr. Abbey, distinguished themselves by the sympathetic fairness with which they represented the character and life-work of Wesley, in the present volume Canon Overton is courageous as well as fair in his candid and friendly treatment of the character and work of the Evangelical leaders of his Church. It is curious, however,

* Canon Overton's separately published brief *Life of Wesley*, though not exactly an unfair, is, on the whole, a disappointing book, and hardly worthy of the historian whose work we are reviewing. He has failed to shake himself free from the shackles which hampered him in writing this distinctively Anglican manual on the life and work of John Wesley.

how he manifests a grudge against them as he has done against William Law, notwithstanding his admiration of the Nonjuror, because they, like Law and like Jeremy Collier, two centuries ago, another Nonjuror, and one of Canon Overton's heroes, were religiously opposed to the theatre, and because they also disapproved of novel-reading. As to the theatre, we venture to ask Canon Overton to consider what Canon Kingsley, no narrow-minded or illiterate bigot, has advanced in his paper entitled "Plays and Puritans," contained in his *Miscellanies*, and also the evidence on this subject contained in Fanny Kemble's and in Macready's autobiographical revelations. And, as regards novels and romances, let any one who believes in personal or social purity, and also in the moral and immoral influence of the press, consider what the novels and romances of the last century were—what indeed may be said to have been from time immemorial the character of novels and romances, as a class, before Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth brought in a new era, and in effect swept the market clean of the foul garbage—prepared to meet and also to stimulate the sensual taste and appetite—which had before filled it up without any competition from purer sources of literary recreation.

After describing the different parties in the Church, Canon Overton deals with Services and Fabrics, with Church Literature, with Education, Church Societies, Church and State, and Intercourse with Sister Churches. In the space at our disposal we can only touch upon two or three of these topics. The volume opens with an introductory chapter on "The General State of the Church." In this the author shows how unprepared the English Church was for the epoch of manufacturing invention and development and of revolutionary ideas which opened with the later years of the last century, and as to which he quotes a passage from David Masson's *Essay on Wordsworth*, to the effect that there was "a sudden increase of the vital energy of the species. Humanity assumed a higher mood, a deep agitation, as if from a fresh discharge out of celestial space into the solid body of our planet, shook the soul of the world, and left it troubled and excited." In the Church of England, he says, there were only two classes that could at

all cope with the new conditions, and that because "they both had a strong lever to wield, which the easy-going mass had not. The one was the Evangelical party, the other that of the distinctly High Churchman." As a matter of fact, however, the Evangelical party was barely beginning to move with any vital energy or conscious purpose when the century began, while the distinct High Church movement, as has already been indicated, only assumed form and took a definite direction at the end of the period with which this volume is concerned. For a quarter of a century before 1832 the Evangelical section of the Church of England was the energetic and progressive part of the Church. All that was done—and it was very much—to apply Christianity to the needs and opportunities of the incoming age of developed forces and newly created populations was done by Evangelical Churchmen and Evangelical Nonconformists, between whom during this period there were far better and more truly Christian relations of mutual understanding and sympathy than have been known for the last half-century.

Canon Overton's description of the three parties into which he distinguishes the Church of England is not, we think, happy, so far as his nomenclature is concerned. The three sections into which he divides Churchmen are the "Orthodox," the "Evangelicals," and the "Liberals." For this classification he offers a sort of apology. He says that to have described the parties respectively as "High Churchmen," "Evangelicals," and "Broad Churchmen," would have involved a cross division, "low" being the natural correlative to "high," and that the designation "Broad Churchmen" was altogether unknown during the period of which he writes. But it is evident that his own nomenclature involves a cross division. It seems to imply that the "Evangelicals" could not justly be described as "Orthodox," nor the Orthodox as Evangelical. But surely all Church historians of any liberality of mind have applied the term "orthodox" even to Dissenters, who hold orthodox views as to the Trinity; and to withhold the epithet from such Churchmen as Simeon and William Wilberforce, of whose true-hearted churchmanship the author speaks strongly and heartily, would be very strange. We know that John Keble refused to

admit Dissenters to be Christians, restricting that name to members of the "Catholic" Churches; but even the Kebles (John and Thomas) would hardly have denied that Charles Simeon and Legh Richmond were orthodox Christians. If what Canon Overton means is that the Evangelicals did not hold orthodox *ecclesiastical* views as Churchmen, we can only say that to use the ancient Church epithet in such a restricted and peculiar sense as this is unworthy of such a history as Canon Overton's, and of such a writer as the historian. On the other hand, again, Canon Overton can hardly intend his readers to understand that the "orthodox" Churchmen of whom he writes were none of them evangelical. Let any well-informed Evangelical Churchman read Dean Burgon's *Life of Charles Longuet Higgins, the Good Layman*,* and say whether he was not intensely evangelical, though he called himself a High Churchman; or let any candid and well-informed evangelical Dissenter read Bishop Wilberforce's latest charge, where he deals with the subject of Auricular Confession, or read his statements as to Justification by Faith and as to Sanctification, as they may be found in his Life in more than one or two places, and say whether he, too, with all his High Church proclivities, was not at heart an evangelical Christian. We cannot for a moment suppose that Canon Overton would question what we have now been saying. But if it is true, then we think it is a double misfortune that he has employed terms which are likely to give more or less offence to Evangelical Churchmen, and which do injustice also to not a few among those who are spoken of as High Churchmen. Then, as to the third class, if it is unlawful to use the phrase Broad Churchman, because it is of recent invention, we suspect that the same objection might be urged against the epithet he has chosen. We doubt whether the term *liberal* was, prior to the year 1830, distinctively applied to such Churchmen as in the former work, written by Mr. Abbey and himself, are classified as Latitudinarians. If Canon Overton avoided the use of that word in his present work for fear of giving offence, he has done so at the cost of seeming to do injustice to other Church-

* Burgon's *Twelve Good Men*, vol. ii.

men, whether High Church or Evangelical, by implying that they are illiberal. No doubt it was a perplexing question what discriminating designations should be used. But, on the whole, we fear Canon Overton has chosen the worst alternative. He has also fixed on a nomenclature which pays a compliment to High Churchmen at the expense of others, still more markedly than it does to Evangelicals at the expense of others, whilst, if "Liberals" are so distinctively discriminated as to imply that they are neither orthodox nor evangelical, they have at least the satisfaction of discovering that Evangelicals share with them the character of unorthodoxy, and the orthodox that of being unevangelical. The inconvenience of this new classification—and the fact that it is new makes it especially inconvenient—might have been softened if a careful definition had been given of the sense in which the words are used; but no such definition is given. "The choice," it seems, "has not been made without much hesitation," and "some misgivings," "without much deliberation, and much consultation with those who appeared competent to give an opinion." We fear strong High Church influence has prevailed. We confess that it seems to us a calamity that such ultra-ritualism, such anti-Christian sacerdotalism, as that which now so largely prevails in the Church of England, should all be included and be disguised under the eulogistic epithet *orthodox*.

Nevertheless, Canon Overton has done full justice to "Evangelicals," or, as he finds no difficulty in calling them, in the text and body of his book, to Low Churchmen, as will be found on reference to his account of such leading ministers as Simeon, Isaac Milner, and Farish, and such laymen as Wilberforce, Thornton, Venn, Gisborne, besides many others, ministerial and lay. No one would suspect that such men, as Churchmen, were not "orthodox" as well as "evangelical." Canon Overton speaks of Simeon as an "enthusiastic Churchman," and of his "prominent Churchmanship," and quotes him as saying, "the Bible first, the Prayer-book next, and all other books and doings in subordination to both." Wilberforce he speaks of as the most influential man among the Evangelicals; but observes that he was opposed to Calvinism, and believed in baptismal regeneration. Lord Teignmouth, the first Presi-

dent of the Bible Society, he describes as a "strong Evangelical, but a stiff Churchman."

Canon Overton traces in a very interesting way the links of High Anglicanism which brought down the connection of a sort of ritualistic, but devout, religiousness, and of rubrical observance, from the last century to the period of the Laudian revival in 1833. He also gives such a description as was possible, in an interesting way, of the heterogeneous succession of latitudinarian or, as he calls them, "liberal" Churchmen, a succession without any community of principle, and which, in the dissolving views which can be obtained of it, always shows a fortuitous medley, rather than a combination, of lax Churchmen. Among these, Paley and Arnold were the greatest men.

The total effect of the perusal of this volume is reassuring. The conflict between Christianity and the world-powers, and powers of evil, which surround it at the present time, is so strenuous as sometimes to try our faith sorely, but the contest was far more unequal, humanly speaking, at the end of the last century, and in the early years of the present, than it is now. The more we know of the facts, the clearer it appears that to the movement called Methodism and to Sunday-schools we owe it that religion was not submerged, and that human virtue and civil order were saved. The condition of London eighty years ago was worse than it is now, although its volume of population is being perpetually swollen by the surplus population of the whole kingdom, and the whole world is pouring into it the refuse of its improvidence, and its vice and wickedness. The provision of Christian agency and of places of worship is in proportion much larger to-day than it was then. In 1818 the population of London and its vicinity was 1,130,000, and the churches (these statistics do not speak of Dissent) provided only for 151,536. In 1812 Dr. Middleton, coming to St. Pancras as vicar, found a population of nearly 50,000, with an ancient church capable of containing 200, and a chapelry at Kentish Town of about the same capacity. In 1818 Marylebone had a population of 75,600 with church accommodation for 8700.

The following verses, written by the Rev. W. Goodacre, give an illustration as authentic as it is striking of the manner

in which, in the year 1825, country clergymen in some parts of the country laboured in the villages of which they had charge as hard-worked and poorly paid pluralists.

A CLERGYMAN'S WORK, A.D. 1825.

This journal of the eighth of May,
In eighteen hundred twenty-five,
Is penned to show that after all
The night is come and I'm alive.

My breakfast done at half-past eight,
I left my home and took my way
Towards Mansfield Woodhouse, where began
The labours of this toilsome day.

The Sunday-schools to teach the young
Their duty both to God and man,
I first inspected, and approved
The faithful labourers and their plan.

At half-past ten to church I went,
Said prayers and preached, four pairs did ask,
A woman churched, and half-past twelve
Completed saw my morning task.

I mounted steed, to Skegby rode,
Imparted to a female ill
The Holy Eucharist, as before
She had to me expressed her will.

At this place, too, I prayed and preached,
And set the congregation free;
Then mounting steed to Sutton hied,
And reached the church just after three.

Two children here I first baptised,
Then prayed and preached as heretofore;
Seven couples published—when the hour
Exceeded somewhat half-past four.

Two children more I christened then,
Ten minutes, too, in vestry stayed
Among the teachers of the school,
To hear some plans that they had made.

Again to Mansfield Woodhouse went,
A corpse in waiting there I found;
The last sad rites 'mid weeping friends
I read—and dust gave to the ground.

A fourth time then I prayed and preached,
 And, this performed, the hour drew nigh
 Whereof the kirk-hammer 'gainst the bell
 Eight hours would sound to passers-by.

Two children more I then did name,
 In private manner as allowed
 By Holy Church—tho' not approved—
 But 'tis the humour of the crowd.

A person sick who wished my prayers
 I called to see, as I was bound;
 And after giving some advice,
 My duty done with joy I found.

Bestowed with welcome by a friend,
 Some food I ate with eager zest,
 Which dinner or my supper call,
 Or any name that you like best.

I sat awhile as loth to move:
 But, knowing I was not at home,
 I sallied forth and safe arrived
 Beneath my humble, peaceful dome.

This scrawl complete—the hour of “twelve”
 Brings my day's labour to a close,
 The past fatigue secures my rest,
 To you I wish a sound repose.

We have but given a slight taste of an exceedingly interesting and suggestive volume, a volume which supplies a link between the modern life and fortunes of the Church of England and its eighteenth century history which was greatly needed.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Supernatural in Christianity, with special reference to Statements in the recent Gifford Lectures. By Principal RAINY, D.D., Professor JAMES ORR, D.D., and Principal MARCUS DODS, D.D. With Prefatory Statement by Principal A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894. 2s.

THIS may be taken as the manifesto of the Scotch Free Church against the teaching of Dr. Pfleiderer on the *Philosophy and Development of Religion*. Dr. Pfleiderer, who is in the main a follower of Baur, and who would fain teach a sort of Christianity which denies the resurrection of our Lord, and is throughout merely naturalistic, having lately delivered in Edinburgh, as Gifford Lecturer, a course of twenty lectures in exposition of his views, these three lectures have been delivered by their distinguished authors as a counter-manifesto. Professor Charteris was prevented from taking part in the course as a lecturer, but took the chair at the first lecture, and has contributed a prefatory statement. The first two lectures strike us as very able indeed, and as saying as much within the compass as could well be said, keeping strictly to the point, and putting their case very forcibly. They show that the lecturer whom they oppose, by abandoning the Hegelian pantheism of his teacher Baur, and taking his stand on the basis of a Christianised theism, which nevertheless denies the resurrection, denies the supernatural, and denies the divine nature of the Lord Jesus, occupies a position altogether inconsistent and untenable, a position involving manifold contradictions. The third lecture, by Dr. Dods, takes up the complementary subject of our Lord's historical character and life as exhibited in the four Gospels. To condense the manifold arguments relating to this subject into one lecture was almost too severe a task for any one to undertake. Dr. Dods has, perhaps, done as much as could be expected, even from so able and competent a New Testament scholar and divine. Neverthe-

less, we think he has failed to do justice, even such justice as within the space might have been done, to the case of St. John's Gospel. The internal evidence of St. John's Gospel has always struck us as being yet stronger than the external, and capable of being stated suggestively within a narrow compass. Professor Dods, in his lecture, almost wholly omits this part of the argument for the fourth Gospel, and therefore weakens so far the strongest part of his case as respects the "Trustworthiness of the Gospels," to use the phrase which he has employed as the title of his lecture.

On the whole, we strongly recommend this timely and valuable publication, as exhibiting within a very small compass an excellent compendium of the arguments on behalf of the Christian revelation.

The Spiritual World. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A., D.D., Principal of Hackney College, and Author of *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement, An Introduction to Theology, The Inspiration of the Old Testament Inductively Considered, &c.* London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. 5s.

Dr. Cave calls this book "a volume of chips from a theological workshop." He proposes some day to publish a work which will be either an introduction to an international theology, or an exhibition of the point from which it must start and of the method by which it must proceed. Meanwhile he has yielded to the solicitations of some of his friends, and issued "a few splinters." As a rule, a book of fragments that are intended at another time to be gathered into a unity may safely be pronounced a mistake; for in the natural order of things the scraps are served up the day after the joint, and are tolerated then only as a concession to the virtues of thrift. In this case, however, an exception may be gratefully allowed. A *magnum opus* that will bind "into one great whole the profounder thought of all ages and climes and creeds" will not be quickly completed; and at the same time these chapters are perfectly intelligible by themselves, and in their more practical parts the contents are so adapted to present and pressing needs that a delay in publication would have been unfortunate on many grounds. They consist of three lectures delivered at the Mansfield Summer School of Theology in 1892, of five delivered as the Ancient Merchants' Lectures for last year, and of two or three more on such attractive themes as the revival of spiritual life and exceptional outpourings upon the spiritual world. The first group will be of especial interest to students of theology. It is a most able plea, directed particularly against the position of Ritschl, in behalf of the actual existence of a spiritual world, of which religion is taken to be the perception and revelation the knowledge, and to which the sacred books, the Church, and the Christian consciousness are witnesses. The second group, of which the original and best

title was "The Gospel for To-day," should be read by every preacher. After discussing the spiritual needs of the day, Dr. Cave writes enthusiastically that the times are ripe for another great demonstration of the power of Christianity, and "the fruit of the centuries is ready to fall at the feet of Jesus." But he believes that a change is required in some of the methods of spiritual address. "That the Gospel for which this age waits is the Gospel as presented by Christ, rather than as presented by Paul or Peter," is set forth with convincing fulness and with the necessary safeguards. Such sentences, too, as the following should be carefully pondered: "The Atonement forms to-day a very subordinate part of preaching. I venture to think that this extreme recoil accounts for much of the paralysis which seems to have fallen upon Christian effort. The preaching of the new life in Christ was never more prevalent, but probably it was never more sterile. Power to convert men to God seems to be a very rare attribute of the modern pulpit." Dr. Cave pleads, in consequence, that the Atoning Death must be restored to a prominent place in preaching and teaching. In relation to Scripture, he holds that "a tree might live as readily without its sap as the Christian consciousness or the Christian Churches without the Bible." Altogether, the book is stimulating to thought and faith from beginning to end, strong and timely, likely to help its readers to become both more scientific in their theology, and more spiritual and effective in their preaching.

Fishers of Men. Addressed to the Diocese of Canterbury in his Third Visitation, by EDWARD WHITE, Archbishop.
London: Macmillan & Co. 1893. 6s.

This little volume contains five Charges delivered by Archbishop Benson in various parts of his diocese during his third visitation, together with a sermon preached at Birmingham, and a few appendices of statistical and other information. The sermon deals particularly with the character and temper of mind requisite in a modern Churchman, and recommends the three qualities of quietness, unworldliness, and sincerity. In the Charges a great variety of subjects are referred to, ranging from patronage on the one hand to socialism and criticism on the other. It is perhaps necessary for such a dignitary, on such an occasion, to be ready with counsel on all these matters; and from his own point of view the wisdom of much that he says is hardly questionable. But the circumstances do not appear to have permitted the adequate treatment of anything; and the volume is consequently one of episcopal advice rather than of reasoned discussion. A reader who wishes to know the Archbishop's opinion, or the policy he is prepared to advise, may consult it with advantage; and it is of further value as showing the attitude in which the officials of a great Church place themselves towards questions in some of which the interests of the whole people are involved.

The Theology of the New Testament. By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Introduction, History, and Exegesis, New College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. 2s. 6d.

This volume belongs to the "Theological Educator" Series, and ranks in value with the best of its predecessors. Its style is succinct but clear, and the book is an appetising introduction to the study of the subject. The author discusses the theology of the New Testament under two main heads: "The Teaching of Jesus Christ" and "The Theology of the Apostles." The latter is arranged into sections: "The Primitive Type," "The Pauline Type," "The Johannine Type," and a few paragraphs are given to the examination of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is a marvel of compression that Professor Adeney has succeeded in treating such large subjects readably within 250 small pages. To some of his conclusions exception may fairly be taken, especially in regard to the doctrines of sanctification and of eschatology, whilst the Gospel of the Holy Spirit is passed over in almost complete silence. Other conspicuous omissions relate to the inner relations of the Trinity on the one hand, and on the other to the law of the Sabbath; and the treatment of the Sacraments is rather meagre. But in reply it might be pleaded with reason, that in a volume of so small a compass brevity was necessary and omissions are excusable. The book is an admirable summary, tersely written from the point of view of the mediating school, and well adapted to incite its readers to an attack upon more formidable works, or to the synthetic study of the Sacred Text for themselves.

College and University Sermons. By the Hon. and Rev. ARTHUR TEMPLE LYTTLETON, M.A., Vicar of Eccles; late Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

These sermons, except two, were preached to a University chapel congregation—the Chapel of Selwyn College, Cambridge. The other two were preached before the University. Those preached in the Chapel are specially suitable for young men. Of the University Sermons that on "War" was preached in response to the initiative of Bishop Westcott, whose teaching, Mr. Lyttleton explains, has furnished a basis for more than one of the other discourses; the bishop's tone and inspiration, indeed, as it seems to us, more or less pervade the volume. The sermons are deeply serious and devout; they are also, in no common degree, real, thoughtful, truthful, candid. One on "The Duty of Studying the Bible" is particularly good and seasonable, a very useful and practical summary of exposition and counsel.

The limitation of the preacher's range of knowledge and of ideas, we must add, is here and there very apparent, especially as to the experimental "knowledge" of God, or what we may, for the sake of conveying our present thought, venture to speak of as the region of spiritual intuition and dynamics; also, as to the real roots of the ecclesiastical problem, which, with much candour and simplicity of aim, but with defective knowledge and too narrow a range of ideas, he attempts to discuss in the sermon on "The Catholic Position of the English Church"; and again, as to the "Holy Communion," in discoursing on which he writes as one who has never caught even a dim or distant view of the spiritual doctrine on that subject held by reverent and spiritually-minded Christians, who believe that while the Lord's Supper is a great and precious means or source of the divine Christian life in true believers, it is not the one and only vehicle for the communication of that divine life, and to whom the doctrine of sacramental efficacy, as taught by Dr. Pusey, appears as contrary to apostolic faith and doctrine as Zwinglianism does to High Anglicans. Mr. Lyttelton, however, though a High Churchman, is not a follower of the extreme Oxford school.

WESLEYAN BOOK-ROOM PUBLICATIONS.

- The "Life Indeed" Series: 1. *The Holy Spirit and Christian Privilege.* By THOMAS G. SELBY. 3s. 6d.
 2. *The Inspirations of the Christian Life.* By THOMAS F. LOCKYER, B.A. 3s. 6d.
 3. *Things New and Old, and other Sermons for the Times.* By H. ARTHUR SMITH, M.A.
 4. *The Lay Preacher's Handbook: First Steps in Homiletics.* By the Rev. CHARLES O. ELDRIDGE, B.A. 2s.
 5. *An Introduction to the Study of Hebrew: Containing Grammar, Exercises, and Reading Lessons.* By J. T. L. MAGGS, B.A. 5s.

London: Charles H. Kelly. 1894.

1. The theology of the Holy Spirit is still very poorly developed. The contrast in this respect with the theology of the Son is remarkable. Owen's and Goodwin's volumes on the Holy Spirit are the only masterpieces coming down to us from earlier days. And what modern work could we put beside these? A wide field of Scripture teaching and spiritual experience remains here to be worked. For such reasons Mr. Selby's volume is to be cordially welcomed. The fourteen sermons contained in it, while they do not profess to treat of every aspect of the great subject, deal most effectively with several of these aspects,

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as a few of the titles will sufficiently indicate: "The Spirit and the New Sense of Sin," "The Spirit and the New Birth," "The Sealing Spirit," "The Inspirer of Prayer," "The Inward Intercessor." The texts of these subjects will readily suggest themselves. There is no need to characterise Mr. Selby's preaching. It is enough to say that this volume is of the same quality as the two volumes which have called forth so wide a response of appreciation. Here is the additional advantage of a continuous theme. Like the sermons of the former volumes, these are eminently reflective, combining breadth and depth in a remarkable manner, illumined with abundance of original illustration, finished alike in thought and language. They are good sermons to read. If we say that they are almost too good to hear, we mean this as a virtue, not as a fault. It would be difficult for ordinary hearers to take in all the contents of the packed sentences. The sentences need analysing, and they will bear it. May the Holy Spirit himself second the preacher's effort to expound His work!

2. Mr. Lockyer has a great subject in *The Inspirations of the Christian Life*, and he treats it in a thoughtful, suggestive style. The first section deals with "Great Realities"—the Creator God, the Holy One of Israel, the Covenant Christ, the King of Love, the inheritance of blessing; then comes "Our Assurance of Faith," including such subjects as religious depression, little faith, peace, prayer, sufficient grace, and kindred topics; four other divisions follow—"The Christian Commission," "Great Ideals," "Our Earnest of Victory," and "The Christian Hope." This mere enumeration of topics shows that Mr. Lockyer's book covers a wide field of vital Christian truth. The following quotation may indicate the mature and judicious style in which the whole subject is handled: "We must guard against the idea that religious experiences should all be cast in one mould. For variety of mind and of practical life makes variety of spiritual experience inevitable. And just as in nature we see one life efflorescing into beauty in a thousand ways, so we should rejoice that the one life of Christians is so manifold in mood and in expression. We must also be careful to put away a rigid, mechanical conception of uprightness of conduct, and look more to the quickening and reforming principles of rectitude."

3. Mr. Smith's *Things New and Old* consists of sermons preached during the last fifteen years in Clapham Wesleyan Church. No one will turn these pages without understanding how he has won his reputation as one of the most thoughtful lay preachers in Methodism. How freshly he treats his subjects may be seen from the discourse on "The Permanent and the Passing Away," and the beautiful sermon on "The Risen Christ," which deals with His manifestations to sorrow, to error, to want, to the backslider, the doubter, and to the ministering. All who appreciate a thoughtful, fresh, well worked out sermon will give this volume a special welcome.

4. Mr. Eldridge has shown great good sense in this *Lay Preacher's Handbook*. The opening section, "The Preacher's Work and Call,"

must inspire every right-minded man with a sense of responsibility which will go far to make him studious and earnest. Under "Self-Culture" we find many wise hints as to education, the use of experience, the way to study the Bible, the habit of observing, the study of human nature, and on memory. The chief section, "On Preparing for the Pulpit," is very helpful, and is illustrated by some valuable homiletical exercises. Wise counsels for the preacher in the pulpit and for preaching and speaking on special occasions are given in the two last sections. The *Handbook* ought to be on the shelves of every lay preacher in Methodism. All preachers will feel repaid by its study.

5. Mr. Maggs has done everything that is possible by accurate scholarship and excellent arrangement to make the way plain for those who are entering on the study of Hebrew. The type and printing are themselves no small attraction in this Grammar. The pages are not overcrowded, and the eye is helped to grasp the chief points by the way in which the subject is broken up into paragraphs. The brief chapters encourage a student and make him feel that he is making headway. The notes on Syntax are excellent, and the book is well supplied with paradigms of verbs and nouns, brief exercises, and reading lessons. Dr. Moulton and Professor Findlay have read the proof-sheets, and helped Mr. Maggs with many suggestions. We are inclined to think that Mr. Maggs has in some cases sacrificed clearness to brevity, but his book will be of great service to beginners, and many a more advanced scholar will feel that he owes Mr. Maggs a great debt.

ANNOTATED PARAGRAPH BIBLE.—The Religious Tract Society have conferred a great benefit on the masses of English reading people by the republication in one thick volume, large quarto, of the *Annotated Paragraph Bible*, with Explanatory Notes, Prefaces to the several Books, a selection of authorised renderings and references to parallel and illustrative passages, also maps and indexes. The type is perfect, small but wonderfully clear, and the whole getting-up admirable. The *Annotated Bible*, in one volume, was first issued in the years 1850 to 1860, but has now for some time been out of print. The present is an entirely new edition. The text is that of the Authorised Version with some few differences in punctuation. The Prefaces and Indexes have been carefully revised. The various renderings, to which so much attention was devoted in the first edition, have been re-examined. In innumerable cases these are found to have anticipated the Revised Version. This version and other translations have been throughout consulted, and in the notes constant reference is made to the Revised Version. The Marginal References, prepared with immense labour for the first edition, remain almost as they were. The Notes are, as before, strictly explanatory and illustrative without homiletic applications. For this edition they have been considerably augmented, in strict conformity, however, with the original plan of the work. Chronological Tables have been again inserted, but on a somewhat extended

scale. A series of Maps by Henry Courtier of the Royal Geographical Society embodying the result of the latest researches in Scripture lands, and Alphabetical Indexes to the Notes, form a new feature in this edition. The price in cloth boards is 28s. The Old and New Testaments are also published separately, the former at 18s. and the latter at 10s. 6d. in cloth boards. We cannot doubt that the energy and enterprise of the Society in this republication will be rewarded by a large demand.

1. *The First Book of Kings.* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D.
7s. 6d.
2. *The Second Book of Kings.* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D.
7s. 6d.
3. *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.* By JAS. DENNEY,
B.D. 7s. 6d.

London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

1, 2. These two volumes of the *Expositor's Bible* are learned, able, and devout. Archdeacon Farrar has spared no pains in the study of his subject. His general position is that of one who, standing firm himself on the bases of supernaturalism and Christian Orthodoxy, nevertheless is much influenced at certain points by what is spoken of sometimes as the "higher criticism." No one can afford to neglect these volumes in the study of the historical books of the Old Testament, though opinions will differ as to the concessions which he sometimes seems to make to the general tone and strain of rationalistic criticism. The style in which he writes is his own, and his mannerism sometimes assumes a tone which is rather loud than impressive. His writing is suffused by colouring which is sometimes too glaring to be in taste. This seems to us to indicate too great haste, too great hurry and drive here and there in his writing. A phrase which is somewhat familiar to him in writing describes not unaptly his own style, it is "steeped in the dyes of earthquake and eclipse." Another peculiarity in his writing is the passionate animosity with which he seizes every opportunity of inveighing against the priestly orders, and sacerdotalism generally, whilst he loves to exhibit the merits of the succession of prophets. We, of course, largely agree with his feelings on this subject. Nevertheless, we think that his tone is sometimes exaggerated, and that his tirades are not always called for in the interpretation of his subject, that they are not called for at least with the frequency or to the extent found in these volumes. Of his great eloquence and great earnestness there can be no doubt, and there is much in them to admire, but he is in great danger of contracting a habit—if he has not already contracted it—of turgid exaggeration, bordering on bombast. Admiring as we do the learning, the spirit, the principles, which are

characteristic of Archdeacon Farrar; admiring also the gift of natural eloquence which pours itself out so freely and easily, even in his familiar writing, we could heartily wish that such defects of his qualities as we have referred to might be corrected.

3. This is a good volume of the Expositor's Bible. Mr. Denney is a very competent, unaffected, and impersonal critic and expositor. Without any display he satisfies the conditions of learning, insight, and general efficiency. We can honestly and heartily recommend his work.

The Resurrection of the Dead: An Exposition of I. Corinthians

xv. By the late WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D. Edinburgh:
T. & T. Clark. 1894. 4s. 6d.

Questions bearing on the future state—Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, the Book of Revelation—were a favourite study of the late Professor Milligan. His works on these subjects, the fruit of much inquiry and thought, are additions to Christian literature of permanent value. The same must be said of the present study. The theme is one of profound interest, and the treatment of it evinces lifelong, living familiarity with all its phases. The exegesis is careful, every phrase is put under the microscope, no difficulty is slurred over. If it would be too much to say that every difficulty is solved, reasons for and against the conflicting interpretations are faithfully given. The discussions of "baptized for the dead," the "sensuous" and spiritual body, "we shall all be changed," are instances of this. An interesting comparison might be made between the present work and the late Samuel Cox's exposition of the same chapter. If Dr. Cox sweeps a wider field of general argument and illustration, Dr. Milligan keeps closer to the letter of Scripture. But both are excellent in different ways, and will prove equally helpful to students and preachers. Doubtless, if the book had been published by the author himself, it would have been furnished with full table of contents and index. Both printers and publishers are to be congratulated on the outward form of a good book.

The Preaching of the Old Testament to the Age. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 1s.

This lecture was delivered as an inaugural address on the author's induction to the Chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. This, as might be expected, is an able and valuable address, very seasonable also, and one which may be commended to the special attention of young preachers. There is good

reason at the present time for urging upon Christian ministers the need of using the Old Testament as well as the New in their pulpit ministrations, the greatest preachers down to the present time having derived much of the force and charm of their preaching from the Old Testament. At the same time there are some incautious utterances in the lecture. The author argues that even though such figures as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob should disappear from the Old Testament as actual living characters, no serious injury would be done to the teaching of the New Testament. How he could say that with St. Paul's Epistles in his mind, especially Galatians and Romans, is to us incomprehensible. He will need to revise, or to explain and defend, this part of his lecture.

Christianity and Evolution. By JAMES IVERACH, M.A., D.D.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

Dr. Iverach is Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Aberdeen Free Church College, and in this volume has given a clear and profound series of arguments on the subject indicated by the title we have quoted. To study this book will wonderfully contribute to trained and lucid thinking on the part of the theological student. What evolution means and what must be of necessity its limits are clearly indicated. Current fallacies are exploded, the reader brought from phrases to thinking, and from vague abstractions to things, to actuality, to real processes. We give the titles of the successive discussions as they follow in the chapters of the volume. Those who think them over will see how thorough the work is in its scope. They are as follows: "Evolution and Beginnings," "Evolution and Law," "Nature and Intelligibility," "The Strife Against Purpose," "Evolution and Creation," "Organic Evolution," "Super-Organic Evolution," "Evolution and Psychology," "Evolution and Ethics," "Evolution and Religion." We heartily recommend this volume.

Church Work: Its Means and Methods. By the Right Reverend
J. MOORHOUSE, Bishop of Manchester. Macmillan & Co.
1894. 3s. net.

Bishop Moorhouse is a worthy successor of Bishop Fraser. Indeed, though perhaps he is hardly so popular, he is in some important respects superior to his predecessor in mental equipment and intellectual force. This book is the earnest, manly, godly work of a devout Broad Church Bishop, and must be read as such. It is a summary of addresses delivered to the clergy and laity of his diocese during an Episcopal Visitation, the addresses being seventeen in number, and dealing in order with the chief subjects involved in systematic Church work, whether on the part of clergy or laity, but especially of clergy.

It is throughout earnest, practical, and liberal; its spirit being opposed to that of the Church Union. Nonconformist ministers who know the High Church manual, by Bishop Gott (of Truro), entitled *The Parish Priest of the Town*, will find it worth while to compare the two manuals.

Homely Counsels for Village Preachers; and Sermon Building Illustrated. By the Rev. JOSEPH BUSH. Rochdale: Thomas Champness. 1894. 1s.

Mr. Bush says in his preface that in preparing this little book he has kept in view the average village preacher. He has "sought to write to the level of the working farmer, the thrifty cottager, the tradesman in town or village, the skilled artisan, the miner, and the allotment labourer." He mentions a few books which the village preacher ought to have constantly in use, and adds that if he owns and reads them and studies to show himself approved unto God he will become "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." The counsels, as every one who knows Mr. Bush would expect, are both spicy and sagacious. They deal with things as they are. "How shall we preach better sermons in the small chapel to the few people?" The preacher is advised to take his inspiration with him, for he will not find the inspiration that comes of numbers. We are glad to note the protest against sensational methods, and the plea for honest, terse, brief, bright sermons. "Is it not time," Mr. Bush asks, "that we, as preachers, went in for quality in converts rather than for quantity?" Thoroughness rather than mere numbers—that is what we should aim at. The object-lessons on *Sermon Building* form a practical supplement to the *Homely Counsels*. Mr. Bush's divisions seem somewhat stiff, but they are always suggestive. This little book will be a treasure for every village preacher.

A Help for the Common Days. Being Papers on Practical Religion. By J. R. MILLER, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1894. 2s. 6d.

This is intended as a companion volume to Dr. Miller's *Week-Day Religion*, which has been received with such favour. It is all practical, with no line that is not intended to bear on every-day life. "The Sweet Odour of Prayer," put in the forefront, strikes a good keynote. It is devout, crisp, suggestive. "Ye have done it unto Me" shows by many a legend and incident that "Christ Himself is ever standing before us, appealing to us for love, for sympathy, for ministry." The wise words on Temper will be useful in every home. The book is quite worthy of a place beside the earlier volume on *Week-Day Religion*. Every one who reads it will be the better for these bright and helpful little papers.

The Greatest Thing in the World, and other Addresses. By
HENRY DRUMMOND. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
1894.

All that we need to do is to announce this volume, by one of the most popular amongst the Christian writers of the day, as containing the following addresses previously published separately—viz., "The Greatest Thing in the World," "The Programme of Christianity," "The City without a Church," "The Changed Life," and "Pax Vobiscum." It is an excellently printed, handy, and attractive volume.

The Biblical Illustrator ; or, Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations: Expository, Scientific, Geographical, Historical, and Homiletic, gathered from a wide range of Home and Foreign Literature, on the Verses of the Bible. By
JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. *Leviticus, Numbers.* London:
Nisbet & Co. 1894. 7s. 6d.

The introductions in this volume strike us as very useful, and the notes are as usual crowded with good points for sermons and addresses. The volume will compare favourably with the best that have appeared in the series. Mr. Exell and his colleagues have access to a large mass of valuable matter, and the selection has been made very skilfully.

At the low price of 3s. 6d. Messrs. Macmillan have published the late Mr. Maurice's Sermons on the "Acts of the Apostles," which were preached at St. Peter's, Vere Street, in 1861 and 1862.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vie de S. François d'Assise. Par PAUL SABATIER. Huitième
Edition. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1894.

THIS is a worthy record of a life which never ceases to charm both Papist and Protestant. Francis was pre-eminently the saint of the Middle Ages. He owed nothing to the Church or the schools, but was a man truly taught of God. He refused to be ordained priest, for he divined the superiority of the spiritual hierarchy. He recognised and consecrated a new priesthood, real, living, and based on a natural right, the priesthood of the saints. The priest in the Middle Ages

was the antithesis of the saint, and was almost always his enemy. The priest was separated from other men by the holy unction, and professed to be the representative of the Almighty, capable by some simple signs of accomplishing unspeakable mysteries, able at a word to change bread into flesh and wine into blood. He appeared like a kind of idol who could do everything for you or against you, and whom you could only adore with trembling. The saint, on the other hand, had no vestments to announce his mission, but his life and words imposed on the heart and conscience of all. Though he had no cure of souls, he felt himself obliged to raise his voice for others. A child of the people, he knew all their sorrows, material and moral, and heard in his own heart their mysterious echo. Such men were the true prophets of the thirteenth century. They were apostles like St. Paul, not by the law of a carnal commandment, but by the inner command of the Spirit. They were the witnesses of liberty against authority. M. Sabatier shows that the Franciscan movement was a recognition of an ideal much more lofty than that of the clergy of the age. The ignorance of the lower clerics, and the simony and vices of the prelates, were notorious. The Anchorites fled to the desert to escape the wars and the vices of the time. *The Imitation of Christ* represents that life of the cloister in its purest form. But St. Francis held that the separation of the monk from the world was not truly Christian. He wished to live as Jesus lived, and his own life is an imitation of Christ far more truthful than that of Thomas à Kempis. At several periods he felt the charm of a purely contemplative life, but each time his better genius warned him that this was only a disguised form of egoism, and that a man can only save himself by saving others. Acting on that principle, Francis dispensed the treasures of his heart according to the needs of those he met, and reserved the best of himself for the poorest and most degraded, for lepers and for brigands. He was marvellously helped by the very defects of his education. Had he been better trained, the formal logic of the schools would have robbed him of that flower of naïveté, which is the greatest charm of his life; he would have seen all the extent of the plagues of the Church, and without doubt would have despaired of healing them. If he had known what ecclesiastical discipline was, he would have been obliged to observe it, but, thanks to his ignorance, he was often able to infringe this without being aware of his lapses, and was a heretic without suspecting it. It is, M. Sabatier points out, the first duty of the historian to forget his own time and country in order to become the contemporary, moved and sympathetic, of the person about whom he writes. If it is difficult thus to transform oneself into a Greek or Roman, it is harder still to become a citizen of the thirteenth century. The Middle Ages were then in their early youth, like some one in his twentieth year, and the souvenirs of that period of life are the most fugitive and the most difficult to note. We find the same difficulties when we wish to chronicle the impulses of the thirteenth century, its poetic inspirations, its amorous and chaste

visions. M. Sabatier sets himself to represent the age as well as the man, and the growing interest with which we study his volume shows how well he has succeeded in his difficult task. The exhaustive and judicious critical study of the sources from which material has to be drawn for the saint's biography is a noteworthy feature of this work. Students will find it of special value. Here are notes on the works of St. Francis, on the chief biographies, on diplomatic documents, on the chronicles and foreign chroniclers of the Order. The life itself is told with singular freshness and felicity of style. M. Sabatier's exquisite picture of the youth of the saint, of the various stages of his conversion, and of the way in which he found and pursued his life-work, will not soon fade from the memory of any reader. Here is a delightful little paragraph about St. Francis: "That perfect lover of poverty tolerated one luxury; he ordained it even at the Portiuncula. It was that of flowers. The friar gardener was not merely to sow *legumes* and useful plants, but he was to keep a corner of ground for our sisters—the flowers of the field. Francis spoke to them also, or, rather, he replied to them, because their mysterious and sweet language insinuated themselves into the very ground of his heart." During their first years the Friars Minors used sometimes to gain their living by engaging themselves as domestics in princely houses. Little by little all was transformed. Under colour of such service, the friars entered the houses of the highest personages of the Pontifical Court, and became their men of confidence. Losing sight completely of the idea of the Apostolic life, they became courtesans of a special kind; their character, half ecclesiastic and half lay, rendered them capable of filling a crowd of delicate missions, and of playing a *rôle* in the various intrigues by which the greater part of the Roman prelates have always lived. We heartily commend this charming volume to all lovers of one of the most lovable saints of the Middle Ages.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Narrative of the Events of His Life. By JAMES DYKES CAMPBELL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

In noticing a short time ago the collection in one volume of Coleridge's poetical works, edited by Mr. Campbell, with a biographical introduction, we expressed an earnest desire that the admirable *Life* prefixed might be separately published. In the present volume this has been done. The biography has been carefully revised, and the narrative expanded, whenever a fuller or clearer statement appeared to be desirable, or new facts had come to light. The result is a model and masterly biography. Mr. Campbell speaks of it modestly as a "narrative of the events" of the poet's life. That the book is such a narrative, carefully, completely, and clearly drawn out, and that it is very little more, is its highest recommendation. Mr. Campbell has not attempted to philosophise as to Coleridge's philosophy. He has

not attempted to describe, or in outline to complete, a philosophical system which Coleridge himself never completed, of which he only committed to writing a few fragments, and which it may be doubted whether he had ever, even in his own mind, clearly drawn out, even in its principles and main features, although he talked much about what he described as the "ideas" that were to be combined and harmonised in it, when it should be fully brought to light. As to the lamentable weakness, or to give it its true name, the vice which darkened all Coleridge's life and enervated his moral power, Mr. Campbell says just as much as biographical fidelity required, as much as was necessary to make the life clear and intelligible, suggesting at the same time all in the way of palliative or apology that enlightened charity could suggest. He gives the "events," he gives the tenor of the history. He quotes letters and occasionally extracts from the poet's writings, so far as these throw true light upon the essential points of the life-story. All is tenderly and charitably, and yet truly and faithfully, stated. It is a clear, a fascinating, a sadly instructive narrative. Those who read it will be perplexed to know in what proportion admiration, sympathy, and censure should be mingled in their judgment of the character and life of the wonderful poet and profound thinker of whom the volume tells the story.

Recollections of a Long Life. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.

London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

The venerable author of this volume is now in his eighty-eighth year. He has spent so long a life under specially favourable conditions for knowing much of many of the best and most distinguished men of all the great Protestant Churches of England and America, and something also of some distinguished Christians of other countries. His mother was brought up as a Quakeress by her mother, but her father was, in later life, a staunch Methodist, and she remembered John Wesley, and used to tell how he took her up as a child and kissed her. After her marriage to a Churchman, who became an attendant at the Methodist preaching-house, she joined the Methodist Society, and her son was brought up by her in close union with the Society and its services, the father, an honest lawyer, having died before his son was five. He became while still quite young himself a member of "the Society." Like his father he took to law, the lawyer in whose office he was placed being a conscientious and earnest, but not intolerant, Roman Catholic, whom young Stoughton learnt to respect and like. His own predilections, however, were for the Christian ministry, but not for such a style of ministerial service as that of the Methodist itinerancy, though he always retained an affectionate regard for the spiritual community with which he was first identified as a Christian believer and professor. The son of a Churchman and a Quakeress-Methodist, he found religious friends and comrades among the Congregationalists, and to a Congregationalist College he went to

prepare for the ministry. His pastoral life was spent between Windsor and Kensington, the greater part of it at Kensington, where he succeeded Dr. Leifchild. He retired from his charge and from all official pastoral responsibility in 1874, after thirty-three years of happy and honourable service. For some years, partly before and partly after his retirement, he acted as Professor of Church History at the Congregational New College.

During all his long career he has been very favourably situated for becoming acquainted with many of the foremost men, especially those of a generous and catholic spirit, of all denominations, and what is yet more important, his character, spirit, and address have been such as to attract congenial spirits and to respond to and return their confidence and friendship. Among his own denomination only the narrow and bigoted stood aloof from him, and the like may be said of the ministers of other churches, so far as he came into contact with them. He has been the welcome friend of Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, as well as of Congregationalists. Still more notable is the fact that he became the valued and familiar guest of such diverse but all distinguished Churchmen as Dean Hook, Dean Stanley, Dean Alford, the Bishop (Magee) of Peterborough, to name no others. In America he had hosts of friends. At Rome, Pio Nono treated him with marked distinction and favour, and opened his way to the archives of the Vatican Library. It is no wonder that a man with such a history should, when at length his activities are brought to a fixed limit, desire to write his *Reminiscences*. He has written many and valuable books during his long life, especially in the vein of Church history, showing always a singular fairness and candour, and an impartial breadth and sympathy of spirit. The readers of his other volumes, and especially his personal friends, will read with much interest the genial pages in which, without a word of unkindness from first to last, he pours forth his long store of recollections.

To analyse or epitomise this volume of meandering—but never disconnected or irrelevant—reminiscences would of course be impossible. There are, however, a few points of opinion which may be singled out as specially worthy of attention. As to the Education Act of 1870 he mildly but decisively declares himself against the secular party, or, as he expresses it, against “the separation in a school of religious from secular instruction,” as being “inconsistent with our duty as Christians.” He further declares that he has “good reason for believing that Mr. Forster wished to deal fairly between Church and Dissent.” In this matter, notwithstanding the strong set of a contrary opinion in his own denomination, he took the same view as his friends Dr. Binney, Dr. Allon, and Mr. Harrison, to whom he dedicates this volume, and other influential Congregationalists. He pronounces strongly in favour of a Liturgy in Congregational worship, here also being in unison with the late Dr. Binney and other Congregational ministers of position and influence, including his present successor in the Kensington pastorate. He intimates his own view as to the Methodist class-meeting in the following interesting passage :

"When I was a member of the Wesleyan Society, I attended class according to rule, and I found the practice beneficial, inasmuch as it was a constant spur to self-examination. The Primitive Agape, revived amongst the Methodists, exists under the name of love-feast, at which, together with eating bread and drinking water as an expression of fellowship, men and women are accustomed voluntarily to rise and give some account of their religious experience for edification to others. These addresses I found often interesting and useful. By such means a habit of spiritual intercommunication amongst Methodists is kept alive; beneficial in some cases, no doubt, but liable to abuse in others, as most good things are. I am constrained to relate how this habit on the bright side manifested itself on a private occasion during a meeting of Conference in London. Dr. Jobson, an eminent Wesleyan, invited a party of friends to his house. He kindly included me in the number, and I found at his hospitable board the president for the year, and some ex-presidents. Together with them, Drs. Binney, Raleigh, Allon, and Donald Fraser were present. Our host was a thorough Methodist, and very comprehensive in his sympathies, for he had mixed with different denominations. He had many friends in the Establishment, and in early life had studied under an eminent Roman Catholic architect, at whose house he met bishops and priests of that communion. On the occasion I refer to, he, in an easy way, initiated a conversation which I can never forget. He appealed to his guests, one by one, for some account of their religious life. All readily responded; and this is most remarkable—all who spoke attributed to Methodism spiritual influence of a decisive kind. To use Wesleyan phraseology, most of them had been 'brought to God' through Methodist instrumentality. Dr. Osborn was present and made some remarks, at the close of which, with choked utterance, he repeated the verse:

"And if our fellowship below,
In Jesus be so sweet,
What heights of rapture shall we know,
When round the throne we meet?"

Popular County Histories. *A History of Westmoreland.* By

RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., Chancellor
of Carlisle. London: Elliot Stock. 1894. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Stock's Popular County Histories ought to have a wide circulation. They give in condensed form all the chief facts about each county, and they are published at so low a price that they are well within the reach of every one who wishes to study the history of his own shire. We are glad that the preparation of this latest volume in the series has been placed in such capable hands as those of Chancellor Ferguson, who is President of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, and a voluminous writer on all

subjects connected with the two counties. He is inclined to think that Westmerland—the land of the Western meres or lakes—is the true spelling; but the form of the name is now fixed and it would be pedantry to write anything save Westmoreland. After mentioning the chief lakes and pointing out that the county is wholly mountainous, Mr. Ferguson says: "For the greater part of the last century the Lake District was as primitive and as out-of-the-world a place as could possibly be imagined. English travellers did not visit mountains for the sake of mountain scenery, but only to traverse them into the plains of Italy. They liked their sherry sweet and their scenery flat." But the travelling world was gradually taught to appreciate the loveliness of the two northern counties. In 1778 a local Roman Catholic priest published a guide-book which opened a new era; the Lake Poets attracted votaries, and the district gradually gained that place in the hearts of English people which it has never lost. After describing the early inhabitants and discussing the stone circles which are known as Druidical, but are really places of sepulchre for bodies that had been burnt, Mr. Ferguson gives a view of the Roman Conquest as it affected the district, describes the roads, forts, and other remains left by the conquerors, and describes with ample detail the Norman settlement of the county. A chapter is devoted to the "border tenant right" which is such an interesting feature of Cumberland and Westmoreland history. But the chapters on Appleby and Kendal, especially the last, will be the most popular with the general reader. There is no town in Westmoreland which can take the place of Carlisle, but the history of Kendal and Appleby is full of topics of interest. Nor must we overlook the closing chapter, headed "Miscellaneous," in which Chancellor Ferguson gathers up a large mass of information on minor points. The famous grammar schools are not forgotten, nor their great scholars. There is a good sketch of the sheep-farming which is the great resource of the district. "On the fell farms the farmer rents the sheep as well as the farm, and when the fell farmer enters upon his holding the sheep are numbered and valued, and the farmer covenants with the farmer to leave upon the farm, when he quits it, the like number and value." We heartily recommend this history to all who wish to get a bird's-eye view of Westmoreland, past and present.

Bishop Lightfoot. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, with a Prefatory Note by the BISHOP OF DURHAM. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

The late Bishop of Durham stood almost alone in his combination of high qualities as a bishop. He combined the erudition of a school-man with unsurpassed ability as a Biblical critic and an ecclesiastical student and historian. He was also a man of the most exemplary devotion and consecration of spirit and life, was an excellent man of business and ecclesiastical ruler, and especially in his influence over young men

dedicated to the ministry of his Church, showed qualities of wisdom, earnest affection, and frank and unflinching sympathy which endeared him unspeakably to those whom he gathered under his care, especially the young men with whom he filled up his palace near Bishop Auckland. The small volume before us is mainly a reprint of an article in the *Quarterly Review*. It furnishes a not unworthy, though too brief an account, of the great and good prelate. It serves to show what intense devotion to Christ and to pastoral work is to be found among not a few candidates for the ministry of the Church of England. Ministerial candidates of whatever Church will find this a precious book to read.

William Dawson: the "Yorkshire Farmer" and Eloquent Preacher. By ANNIE E. KEELING. London: C. H. Kelly. 1894 1s. 6d.

This is a companion volume to Miss Keeling's *John Nelson*, and we should like to see both books in the hands of every lay preacher in Methodism. The grace of style with which the familiar stories are presented ought to secure these biographies a very wide popularity. Dawson's wonderful pulpit and platform oratory has never been more vividly described. The good old Methodists who remember him in his prime still recall the Yorkshire preacher with eyes that sparkle and lips that wax eloquent. His homely title "Billy," though his mother was somewhat sensitive about it, was "one of affectionate and not of contemptuous familiarity, and its homeliness was but a tribute to the sturdy simplicity which delighted them in this famous local preacher." His early life and first religious impressions are lovingly traced. The Rev. Thomas Dikes, then curate of Barwick in Elmet, was one of his first friends and lent many useful books to the thoughtful boy of twelve. None impressed him so much as Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. "Over this he would sit solitary in his father's barn, anxiously studying its pages in hopes to find some blissful solution of the dark, distressful questionings as to 'eternal things' which now harassed his spirit both night and day." A farm lad who had seen him thus employed was so closely cross-questioned by William's father and mother that he was compelled to reveal the secret. They proposed to get hold of the book which was making their son so serious, but William found a hiding-place for Doddridge in the wall-plate of the granary, and resorted thither for his secret readings. He was gradually led into the light; and on July 25, 1790, drew up a "Solemn Surrender" in the form suggested by Doddridge, and appended to it the note: "Solemnly performed this day." Miss Keeling shows how he was led to become a Methodist and a local preacher, and traces his growing popularity and usefulness with sympathy and literary skill. The book is full of good things. The familiar anecdotes lose nothing in the telling, and many racy quota-

tions are given from Dawson's famous deliverances. We understand as we read these extracts the justice of the verdict that has been passed on Dawson's preaching. "His ministry was not so much remarkable for awakening a general excitement, as for producing individual conviction." His appeal was always to the individual conscience, and was eminently practical. The book is so racy and so stimulating that it cannot fail to carry a blessing with it everywhere. "The powerful voice," Miss Keeling says, "has long been silent, and the number of those on whose ear its echoes lingered is lessening continually; we can only reproduce imperfectly some passages from the discourses, some snatches of the conversation, that once were instinct with such power; but the consecrated life may still be studied, the example may yet be imitated, as the impassioned eloquence of the preacher never could be."

Dorothy Wordsworth. The Story of a Sister's Life. By EDMUND LEE. New and Revised Edition. With Portrait. London: James Clark & Co. 1894.

It is eight years since Mr. Lee published the first edition of his *Dorothy Wordsworth*. He has added much new information gathered from all sources, so that it is now more complete and worthy of its subject. Dorothy was a year and nine months younger than the great poet. She and her favourite brother were devotedly attached to each other. Her influence became a moulding and educating power over the poet's heart and mind. "She was part not only of his life, but of his imagination. He saw by her, felt through her, at her touch the strings of the instrument began to thrill, the great melodies awoke. Her journals are Wordsworth in prose, just as his poems are Dorothy in verse. The one soul kindled at the other." During the early years of their residence in Grasmere Dorothy was much taken up with domestic duties, but her poetic enthusiasm and cultured mind did not unfit her for the common duties of life. She wrote and transcribed her brother's poems, read to him, and accompanied him in his daily walks. After Wordsworth's happy marriage his sister still kept her place in his home. There is no more beautiful story of sisterly devotion than hers, and Mr. Lee's enthusiasm for his subject is soon caught by his readers. The book is one that all lovers of our great Lake-poet will treasure.

Messrs. Methuen & Co., as our readers know, are publishing, at the low price of half-a-crown, *A Series of Short Biographies, free from party bias, of the most Prominent Leaders of Religious Life and Thought*. To those of Cardinal Newman, John Wesley, Charles Simeon, and Bishop Wilberforce, they have added that of Cardinal Manning, by Mr. A. W. Hutton, in a second edition, but now first appearing as a volume in this series. The memoir was published two

or three years ago; the edition now issued in this series has been corrected at certain points and has also been enlarged. In a new preface the author defends satisfactorily, as we think, some of his judgments against those who suggest ignobler motives for the course which Manning took in his secession from the Church of England, than were suggested by Mr. Hutton. We repeat, with increased emphasis, the recommendation we gave on the appearance of the first edition of this interesting and carefully prepared biography of one of the most distinguished men of the age. The general editor of the series is the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A. We shall look with great interest for the successive volumes as they appear.

BELLES LETTRES.

Tennyson: His Art and Relation to Modern Life. By
STOPFORD BROOKE. Isbister & Co. 1894.

THIS is, on the whole, a volume of fine and sympathetic criticism, admirably expressed. It must, however, be taken throughout *cum grano*. The critic is a social politician of the *fin de siècle* collectivist school. His Christianity also, and as might be expected, is of the Universalist stamp, and sits altogether loose to the orthodoxy of the ancient creeds. For him Tennyson, in his politico-social opinions, is a slow and exclusive Conservative, quite "out of the running" with the fleet-footed modern illuminati, to whose company Mr. Stopford Brooke belongs. Though a charming and accomplished poet, he is no "prophet," and therefore does not really belong to the first and highest rank of poets. In contrast to Tennyson's conservative strictness and dainty sense of moral beauty and propriety, his critic writes as if he admired the lawlessness of Byron and the offences of Swinburne in his early poetry. He speaks of Byron's laughing to scorn the middle-class propriety of his own time; of his "attacking the respectable hypocrisy of England in the revolutionary mockery of *Don Juan*," as a "needful work done with exaggeration," but which, unless it had been so done, "would not perhaps have rescued England's poetry from the ideal of George III.," meaning by the ideal of George III. such poetry as that of "Cowper and Wordsworth." Surely such writing as this is going very far indeed for one who has not yet, we believe, ceased to claim the position of a clergyman. He goes on to say, in the same spirit, that "it was high time, when poetry in the hands of Tennyson had dwelt so much on the conservative, law-abiding, and regular elements of life, that Swinburne should again, like Byron,

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bring in the revolutionary spirit, and attack that temper in poetry which, in weaker hands than Tennyson's, might again degenerate into pharisaism and put the imagination into a coop like a goose at Strasburg." As if pharisaism were likely to be the besetting sin of either poets or the readers of poetry in the present age! In reading such an outpouring as this, we cannot refrain from the question as to whether the critic, thus writing, is perfectly self-possessed and absolutely sincere. Has he not taken to a jargon and cant of criticism such as is the fashion just now in certain sets of literary professional men? To intimate this may seem to be offering an affront to the writer; but if we were to take him as absolutely sincere, that, we think, would be to do him a deeper dishonour.

We have no doubt that Mr. Stopford Brooke's point of view in such writing as we have quoted is morally false and evil. We are equally convinced that he is wrong in the whole context of this part of his criticism from the politico-social point of view. In the cries, aspirations, demands, dreams—in the hysterical rhapsodies of a wild collectivism—which Mr. Stopford Brooke would make the stuff of the highest modern poetry, the millennium is not to be found or to be approached, any more than by the way of mere commercial development and expansion, or of scientific discovery and advance. The one cure of social evil, the one inspiration of true social advance and improvement, is to be found in Christianity wisely and truly, faithfully and fully, obeyed and applied.

The Introduction, in which the critic sets forth his general view as to the place and range of Tennyson, among the quire of poets, occupies the first fifty pages of the volume. When this is passed, the reader finds, of course, the author's detailed criticism of the poems coloured, again and again, by the views which we have indicated. Still this does not occur so often as seriously to reduce the value of the very well-informed and generally true and appreciative disquisitions which occupy nearly five hundred pages of this large volume. Taken altogether they furnish an exceedingly valuable and instructive commentary. Mr. Brooke deals with the volumes of Tennyson's poetry as they successively appeared in 1830, 1833, 1842, and afterwards; he examines at length *The Princess*, *In Memoriam*, *Maud*, and the War Poems, the *Idylls*, *Enoch Arden*, and the Sea Poetry, the dramatic monologues, the poems which touch the sphere of speculative theology, the Nature poetry, the later poetry, and, intermediately, some other poems to which we have not referred. There is a good index. No critical student of Tennyson can afford to neglect this volume. When Mr. Brooke's own *a priori* views do not interfere unduly with his naturally sympathetic appreciation of the poetry, his criticism is equally unaffected and felicitous. His style is usually excellent—pure, manly, and yet scholarly, English. But surely he forgets himself when, writing in cold blood as a critic, he uses the illogical and indefensible cant phrase of the day about proving a point "up to the

hilt," a barbarism which all lovers of "English undefiled" should agree in disallowing.

In closing this notice it is a pleasure to quote the last words of the volume: "Having walked so long with a great poet it is hard to part with him. We have lived in a large and varied world, with its own landscape and its own indwellers; no transient world, reflecting as in a bubble of air the passions and foibles, the tendencies and the knowledge of the hour, but a solid sphere built slowly during a lifetime into form. Forty years of creation were given to make this new country of the imagination, which men will visit, and in which they will wander with pleasure while humanity endures. Every one who in the centuries to come shall spend therein his leisure will leave it and return to his daily work, consoled and cheered, more wise and more loving, less weary and heavy laden, nearer to beauty and to righteousness, more inspired and more exalted. The permanence of the work of Tennyson is secure. Few are his failures, many his successes; and I trust that this study of him will make men who love him love more, and those who do not yet love him find that constant pleasure."

What and if Tennyson were not a *fin-de-siècle* prophet, with his "eye in a fine phrensy rolling," he is yet throned high among the immortals. Truly "his soul was like a star and dwelt apart"; but mankind will evermore rejoice in the serene splendour of the light and radiance, full of all human sympathy, which beamed and streamed from that loving though recluse and sequestered soul.

The Garden that I Love. By ALFRED AUSTIN. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894. 9s.

It is impossible to give any adequate idea of the subtle charm of this volume in a brief notice. It is poetry in prose; a delicious series of idylls in praise of gardens and gardening, which linger in the memory and bring one back again and again to the roses and old-fashioned flowers of Mr. Austin's enchanted realm. Bacon began his famous Essay on Gardens with a lofty note. "God Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man." Mr. Austin begins with a story about a railway mechanic who always wore his best clothes when he got among his flowers, and replied to Mr. Austin's compliments about his garden: "I could *live* in it." The idea of a lifetime spent in a garden fifteen feet square, part of which was dedicated to a gravel path, made Mr. Austin smile. His own domain is larger, but he has caught the same enthusiasm and does spend all his days in it. Only a poet-gardener could write as he does in his dedication to two young ladies: "You will find much resemblance between flowers and human beings; for they, too, grow reserved under coldness or maltreatment, and respond with almost feminine alacrity to every sympathetic endeavour to apprehend them. But

most of all, the cultivation of a garden tends to foster that sense of kindness with the lowly in which you have been trained; since there are none who love their gardens so tenderly as the poor. Is it not a consoling thought that what, after human affection, is, I think, the deepest and most abiding of all pleasures, is well within the reach of the humblest cottager?" After the search for a house and its happy ending has been delightfully chronicled, we find ourselves watching Mr. Austin's improvements, or wandering with him and his friends during spring, summer, and autumn in his enchanted domain, and finally taking an eager interest in two happy courtships. On such a thread of incident dissertations on all things connected with a garden are strung together in a way that lures the reader on from point to point. Here is one suggestive passage: "The moment I enter a garden I know at once whether it is the owner's garden or the gardener's garden. Nearly all large and costly gardens are gardener's gardens, and for my part I would not take them as a gift. I don't think I ever remember envying the gardens of the great; but I continually see cottage gardens, little village or secluded plots, cultivated and made beautiful by the pathetic expedients of the poor, which seem to have a charm mine cannot rival." Every page reveals the student of Nature. Mr. Austin holds that the thrush is of all song-birds out and away the prince. One of the delicious fragments of song studded through this book is in his praise.

"Hearing thee flute, who pines or grieves
For vernal smiles and showers?
Thy voice is greener than the leaves,
And fresher than the flowers.

"Scorning to wait for tuneful May
When every throat can sing,
Thou floutest Winter with thy lay,
And art thyself the Spring."

Mr. Austin strikes another key in "Yet Love *can* last!":

"If, with the gravely shortening days,
Faith trims the lamp, Faith feeds the blaze,
And Reverence, robed in wintry white,
Sheds fragrance like a summer night,—
Then Love *can* last!"

A fine vein of philosophy runs through the passage on gardening as a process for educating oneself by one's mistakes, and in the suggestive meditation on partnership with Nature, which "admonishes one to be continuously patient, to trust and hope, to have implicit faith in the capacity of time to work wonders, to put up with disappointments and illusions, and, after repeated failure, cheerfully to try again." We have given but a faint notion of the fragrance and beauty of this exquisite book. Every one who ponders it will look on Nature with enlightened eyes and heart.

The "Mermaid" Series. *Richard Steele*. London: T. Fisher
Unwin. 1894.

Sir Richard Steele, known to his friends as Dick Steele, was an intimate friend and literary associate of Addison. He founded *The Tatler*, and was co-labourer with Addison on *The Spectator*. As one of the British Essayists, accordingly, Steele is well known, but he was also a dramatist, and the present volume contains all that he wrote in this character. It is no small distinction, amongst the play-writers of his period, now nearly two centuries ago, that the tone of Steele's comedies is not indecent or immoral. In this respect he is almost a solitary exception amongst the play-writers of that demoralised period of our history. Whatever was his own weakness of character in certain respects, however thriftless or at times intemperate he was, he never ceased to write in the interests of modesty and virtue, though even such a writer could not altogether escape the infection of the age. Fielding makes Parson Adams say that Steele's comedy "*The Conscious Lovers* was the only play fit for a Christian to see." Those who desire to make a complete study of Steele as a writer will find the volume we are noticing a cheap and carefully edited and well-printed edition of his plays.

1. *The Pilgrim's Progress*. By JOHN BUNYAN. Frontispiece
by PHEBE A. TRAQUAIR. 2s.
2. *Bunyan Characters*. Lectures delivered in St. George's
Free Church, Edinburgh. By ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D.
Second Series. 2s. 6d.
3. *Her Day of Service*. By EDWARD GARRETT.
4. *Under the Live Oaks*. By T. M. BROWNE.
5. *My Ducats and My Daughter*. By P. HAY HUNTER and
WALTER WHYTE. A New Edition. 1s. 6d.

Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1894.

1. Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier are forming quite a Bunyan Library, and this edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, in small crown octavo, antique laid paper and cloth extra, is as neat and convenient as any in the market. We do not greatly admire Mrs. Traquair's frontispiece, but it is certainly antique in style.

2. Dr. Whyte's first series of *Bunyan Characters* have reached the fifteenth thousand, and they well deserve their popularity. Few commentators have entered more perfectly into the spirit of the immortal dreamer. Dr. Whyte knows both how to interpret and to illustrate his text-book. There is a fine glow about these homilies, and their

knowledge of all the workings of the human heart makes them strong meat for Christians. Every one who reads the book will find new light on his *Pilgrim's Progress*, and on every phase of the religious life.

3. *Her Day of Service* is a bright story of a country girl who leaves her home in the North to become servant with an old lady at Swinton. She learns to make her lowly position the means of brightening two homes and saving a young fellow from wrecking his life. How she wins her reward in a husband worthy even of her we may leave readers to find out for themselves. This is just the book to give to servants, and they will find it an inspiration to faithfulness.

4. *Under the Live Oaks* carries us to California, where the sick clergyman's daughter wins the heart of a young doctor and becomes a ministering angel to a sick child whom she not only helps back to strength but also leads into the light. Chrissie Burton is a girl whom it does one good to think about. The book breaks fresh ground and is very pleasant reading.

5. Here we have what is really worth a good deal at the present time—a story which is brilliant, modern, fascinating, and, at the same time, perfectly wholesome in character and tendency. The dialogue is sprightly, animated, natural; the political chapters are full of satire and of common sense, a Scotch election being described with much humour. A tone of manly morality gives character to the volume. It is a fresh and original work, and we are glad to see it in a new and cheap edition—the price in paper being a shilling, in boards eighteenpence.

A Study in Colour. By ALICE SPINNER. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.

This is a good volume of the Pseudonym Library. The title is a play on words. It is in fact a study of the character and life of the coloured population in the West Indies, and is dated, though this date may itself be rather symbolic than real, Santa Anna, West Indies. The lights and shadows, the good and evil, of the native West Indian population could not, we should think, be more realistically or more truly exhibited than they are in the sketches of West Indian life held together by a very slight thread of personal connection which make up the contents of this yellow-papered little volume.

1. *Maggie Fairburn.* By JAMES FEATHER.

2. *The Hand on the Helm.* A Story of Irish Life. By FREDERICK A. TROTTER. 18.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1894.

1. This is a pleasant story of a weaver-gamekeeper who saves a little child from drowning and wins the love of a good Methodist girl who is

the means of saving him from drink and making a man of him. There are some pleasant bits of natural history woven into the tale with two or three stirring adventures with a poacher.

2. *The Hand on the Helm* introduces us to a bright young Irishman who is inadvertently brought under suspicion of being an informer and has to fly from home to escape the vengeance of the secret tribunal. How Denis is converted under a sermon of Gideon Ouseley's, clears himself from suspicion and is happily restored to his charming Rosie, who has also become a Protestant, is pleasantly chronicled in this capital story.

Edipus at Colonus. Closely Translated from the Greek of Sophocles. An Experiment in Metre. By ARTHUR COMPTON AUCHMUTY. Hull: W. Andrews & Co. 1894. 2s.

Mr. Auchmuty has set himself a difficult task, but he has kept closely to the original, and has succeeded in giving us a translation which is pleasant to read and will help English readers to appreciate the original. It will be of service to all young students of Sophocles.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *James Gilmour and his Boys.* By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. With a Map and many Illustrations.
2. *Present Day Tracts on Subjects of Christian Evidence, Doctrine, and Morals.* By various Writers. Volume XII.
3. "By Paths of Bible Knowledge," XX. *The Money of the Bible.* Illustrated by numerous Woodcuts and Facsimile Representations. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON.
4. "Present Day Primers." *Early Church History.* A Sketch of the First Four Centuries. By J. VERNON BARTLETT, M.A.
5. *The Printed English Bible, 1525-1885.* By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. With Portraits and Facsimiles.
6. *The Golden Secret in Christian Work.* By J. OSWALD JACKSON.

7. *Round the World with the Union Jack.* With many Illustrations.

8. *The Girl with a Talent.* By MARY HAMPDEN.

London: The Religious Tract Society. 1894.

1. Mr. Lovett has had the good fortune to get hold of James Gilmour's letters to his two boys. They were generally written on coarse Chinese paper with lead pencil in noisy Chinese inns or on his journeys. A sketch of Gilmour's life is given so as to form an introduction to the letters, but the story is told mainly by the missionary himself. It is a book that brings one very near to Gilmour's heart, and the unstudied character of the letters gives them increased charm and freshness. The illustrations are very effective, and the pen-pictures for children have a vivacity which will make them favourites with boys and girls. Altogether this is a delightful volume.

2. The *Present Day Tracts* hold a distinct place of their own in popular, yet scientific, evidential literature, and the present volume is a valuable addition to the library. Dr. Murdock's "Testimonies of Great Men to the Bible and Christianity" gathers together many passages which preachers and teachers will do well to study and quote. Clustered together here they are very impressive and ought to render great service. Dr. Angus deals with Theology as an inductive and progressive science in a way that shows that the greatest of sciences is no fossilised thing; Mr. Kaufman compares modern scepticism with Christian faith; Dr. Berry has a helpful paper on "The Problem of Human Suffering in the Light of Christianity"; Dr. Green discusses modern criticism of the "Psalms of David," and shows cause why sober-minded thinkers cannot accept the verdict of such students as Dr. Cheyne; Dr. Edgar's tract on "Christ's Doctrine of Prayer" will be welcome to many who are perplexed by modern theories on the subject.

3. Dr. Williamson discusses in a popular but scientific style the problem of Bible money. There is everything here that an ordinary student needs, and the beautiful representations of coins are exceedingly helpful. There is a good index and list of Scripture texts, but we wish there had also been a table summarising the results arrived at in this capital volume.

4. Mr. Bartlett's little manual of *Early Church History* ought to be widely used as a beginner's text-book. It is a wonderful shilling's-worth—clear in style, judicious in its verdicts, full of information. It gives the results of prolonged study in a way that will interest and stimulate all readers.

5. Mr. Lovett's book belongs to the same series of "Present Day Primers." It has the advantage of portraits and illustrations. It is an admirable epitome of the history of our English Bible—accurate, bright, suggestive—the best manual that we know on the subject, and will serve as a reliable introduction to the histories of

Westcott, Eadie, and Moulton. We hope that the enterprise shown by the Society in publishing these Primers will be rewarded as it deserves to be.

6. Mr. Jackson's *Golden Secret in Christian Work*, decked in golden covers, is an earnest plea for "the principle of individual effort—of *one bring one*." It is happily illustrated by the story of Whitefield, the brothers Haldane, and many other workers. The little book cannot fail to stimulate Christian people to fresh effort for the blessing of others.

7. *Round the World with the Union Jack* is full of bright sketches of all places where our national flag floats as the symbol of British rule. We certainly get "a vivid conception of the immense extent and infinite resources of the great empire which has been committed to our charge." It would be hard to name a book which teaches us much history and geography in so pleasant a form.

8. *The Girl with a Talent* is a wholesome story. Dorothy Maxwell is a gifted musician, but that is only one of her talents. She is a girl of character and high principle. The story is as interesting as it is useful.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. 15s.

This is a very elaborate and complete work, the result of immense reading and of months of travelling over the Holy Land during two visits made for the express purpose of this historical geography. It deals with all the country, with three remarkable exceptions. Of Jerusalem nothing is written, because it was not the aim of the author to give minute and complete details of a single city, even of Jerusalem, otherwise very fully described by many writers, and of which the description in detail would contribute nothing to the general aim of the volume. Lebanon is not described, because it lies outside the Holy Land. Of Phœnicia no account is given, because Dr. Smith was unable to visit Phœnicia. But all the rest of the country is dealt with in a very complete and painstaking way. The "Land as a Whole" is treated under heads, of which the mere general statement is suggestive. "The Place of Syria in the World's History," "The Form of the Land and its Historical Consequences," "The Climate and Fertility of the Land, with their Effects on its Religion," "The Scenery of the Land, with its Reflection in the Poetry of the Old Testament," "The Land and Questions of Faith," "The View from Mount Ebal," such are the titles of the six chapters which deal with the land as a whole. Then follow descriptive chapters, some of them also chapters of discussion, which bring before us Western Palestine in all its sections from the coast, the Maritime Plain and the Philistines and their cities in the West, to Galilee and its lake, the Jordan Valley, and the Dead

Sea on the East, in seventeen chapters, after which the Third Book treats of Eastern Palestine, in seven chapters, from over Jordan to the Hauran and Damascus. There are five critical appendices, and there are two valuable indexes, one of subjects, the other of authorities. The volume is well written, the descriptive parts being picturesque and sometimes eloquent. It is full of learning and recognises throughout the results or the theories of the most recent criticism.

1. *An Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding, and an Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals.* By DAVID HUME. Reprinted from the Posthumous Edition of 1777, and Edited, with an Introduction, Comparative Tables of Contents, and an Analytical Index, by L. A. SELBY-BIGGE, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of University College. 7s. 6d.
2. *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind.* Translated from the *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences.* With Five Introductory Essays, by WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Merton College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1894. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Selby-Bigge has followed up his edition of *Hume's Treatise on Human Nature*, published in 1888, by this companion volume dealing with the *Enquiries concerning the Human Understanding and concerning the Principles of Morals*. The text is printed in the same workmanlike manner as that of the *Treatise*, and the copious Index which was the chief feature of the earlier volume is also a leading feature here. Comparative tables of contents are given which show at a glance the relation of the two *Enquiries* and the *Dissertation of the Passions* to the three books of the *Treatise*. The Introduction deals in detail with the relation between the *Treatise* and the *Enquiries*. Hume himself desired that the *Enquiries* should alone be regarded as containing his philosophical sentiments and principles. But though some have taken this declaration seriously and ignored the *Treatise*, Mr. Grose regards the request as "the posthumous utterance of a splenetic invalid," and Mr. T. H. Green's elaborate criticism is directed almost entirely against the *Treatise*. Hume's great work is full of egoisms, and amidst its "genuine ardour and enthusiasm there is an occasional note of insincerity, arrogance, or wantonness, which strikes the serious student painfully." These faults are exaggerated in the later works, but they are much more easy to read. The *Treatise* certainly needed recasting. It was, as Mr. Selby-Bigge says, "ill-proportioned, incoherent, ill-expressed. There are ambiguities and obscurities in expression in important passages which are most exasperating. Instead of the easy language, familiar and yet precise, of the *Enquiries*, we have an amount

of verbal vagueness and slovenliness for which it is hard to excuse even 'a solitary Scotchman.' Whether it be due to matter or manner, it remains that the *Enquiries* are a very easy book, and the *Treatise* a very hard one. In the *Treatise* he revels in minutiae, in difficulties, in paradoxes; he heaps questions upon himself, and complicates argument by argument; he is pedantic and captious. In the *Enquiry* he ignores much with which he had formerly vexed his own and his readers' souls, and like a man of the world takes the line of least resistance (except as touching the 'zealots'). He gives us elegance, lucidity, and proportion."

But if verbal victories are so easily won over Hume, as Mr. Green's work shows, the first book of his *Treatise* is in some respects the most important philosophical work in our language. To ignore the *Treatise* would be to deprive Hume of his place among the great thinkers of Europe. This is made abundantly clear by Mr. Selby-Bigge's detailed comparison of Hume's early and later work. Space and time are not treated at all in the *Enquiry* as subjects interesting in themselves, but are only introduced incidentally as illustrating the absurdity of the abstract sciences, and in support of a sceptical position. This introduction certainly fulfils its purpose. It clearly points out the material for fixing a more exact determination of Hume's relations to himself than has been previously attempted. Hume needs to be read with caution, but no student of philosophy can neglect him, and we know no edition so convenient as this on which Mr. Selby-Bigge has lavished so much care and skill.

2. Dr. Wallace's volume is almost equally divided between his translation of *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*—the third part of the German philosopher's encyclopædic work—and five Essays in which he has striven to put together and to elucidate some portions of the *Mental Philosophy*. The present volume is in some measure a supplement or continuation of Dr. Wallace's version of *Hegel's Logic*. He has not ventured to deal with the *Philosophy of Nature* which lies between these; for, as he says, "That is a province, to penetrate into which requires an equipment of learning I make no claim to; a province, also, of which the present-day interest would be largely historical, or at least bound up with historical circumstances." The translation is well done and fully justifies Dr. Wallace's hope that it may make Hegel's meaning plain to an earnest student. His five Essays form not only a study of Hegel, but a singularly clear, fresh, and valuable introduction to the whole subject of mental science. In the first Essay, "On the Scope of a Philosophy of Mind," he points out that "the art of finding titles, and of striking out headings which catch the eye or ear, and lead the mind by easy paths of association to the subject under exposition, was not one of Hegel's gifts. A stirring phrase, a vivid or picturesque turn of words, he often has. But his lists of contents, where they cease to be commonplace, are apt to run into the bizarre and the grotesque. Generally, indeed, his rubrics are the old and (as we may be tempted to call them) insignificant terms of the text-books. But, in Hegel's use of them, these conventional

designations are charged with a highly individualised meaning. They may mean more—they may mean less—than they habitually pass for ; but they unquestionably specify their meaning with a unique and almost personal flavour. And this can hardly fail to create and to disappoint undue expectations." Even Hegel's main divisions of his system show his conservatism in terminology. They do not furnish any real clue to their peculiar contents. "What Hegel proposes to give is no novel or special doctrine, but the universal philosophy which has passed on from age to age, here narrowed and there widened, but still essentially the same. It is conscious of its continuity and proud of its identity with the teachings of Plato and Aristotle." The Hegelian philosophy is an immanent and incessant dialectic which exempts nothing, however majestic and sacred its authority, from the all-testing *Elenchus*. Dr. Wallace compares Herbert Spencer, the only philosopher who has ever attempted a *system* of philosophy, with Hegel. Spencer does not think it worth while to trouble himself with logic, but builds on cause and power and, above all, on force. He shows that Spencer has "a weakness in first principles and a love of catch-words, which goes along with the fallacy that illustration is proof. Above all, it is evident that the great fact of religion overhangs Mr. Spencer with the attraction of an unsolved and unacceptable problem. He cannot get the religious ideas of men into co-ordination with their scientific, æsthetic, and moral doctrines, and only betrays his sense of the high importance of the former by placing them in the forefront of inquiry, as due to the inexperience and limitations of the so-called primitive man. That is hardly adequate recognition of the religious principle; and the defect will make itself seriously felt, should he ever come to carry out the further stage of his prospectus dealing with 'the growth and correlation of language, knowledge, morals, and æsthetics.'" Dr. Wallace has laid all students of Hegel and of philosophy under obligation by these masterly essays.

Ethic. From the Latin of BENEDICT DE SPINOZA. By W. HALE WHITE. Translation revised by AMELIA HUTCHINSON STIRLING, M.A. (Edin.). London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.

We have never been much enamoured of Spinoza. We think his originality has been exaggerated, and that his rank in philosophy will eventually be found to be by no means high. Strange as it perhaps may seem, we should be disposed to place him in the same category with Hume. Both thinkers were eminently clear, logical, abstract, and, by consequence, superficial; and both performed essentially the same functions, *i.e.*, proved the falsity of their first principles by following them out to an absurd result, thus committing a sort of philosophical suicide. In Hume, nominalism disclosed itself as in the final issue pure scepticism, and thus forced Kant back upon a reconsideration of the nature of reality as such. In Spinoza, abstract realism, *i.e.*, pure universalism, results in an utterly empty pantheism, which only a few

ragged and tattered of Hebraic monotheism, surreptitiously foisted in at the expense of logic, save from being in very truth the atheism which, with his usual penetration, Hume pronounced it to be. Spinoza therefore, we think, can no more than Hume be regarded as a constructive thinker, but must be accorded the humbler position of a clearer of the ground, a sort of philosophic backwoodsman, who helped in making ready the site of the future temple, though he foresaw not when, or how, or by what hands, it was to be builded.

So regarded, however, Spinoza is a thinker who still claims attention, and it is well that he should be made accessible to the increasing number of those who, without being deeply learned students of philosophy, are interested in its perennial problems. For this reason we welcome this translation of the *Ethic*, which appears to be accurate, though it can hardly be said to be elegant. Elegance, however, was perhaps too much to expect in the rendering of so scholastic a thinker. The introduction is so slight as to be almost entirely worthless.

Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the late Prince Louis—

Lucien Bonaparte. By VICTOR COLLINS. London :

Henry Sotheran & Co. 1894. Price One Guinea.

Of the fame of the late Prince Louis—Lucien Bonaparte—as a philological and book collector all have heard. The library he collected is now for sale, and Mr. Victor Collins has attempted in this quarto volume to give some idea of its scope and contents. It is to be sold *en bloc*, as the Princess does not wish it to be broken up. It consists of 13,699 different publications, varying in kind and scale from small pamphlets, or papers, to works of several volumes, a large proportion being very rare. Its contents are principally, but by no means exclusively, philological and ethnological. The late Prince travelled the world over, and spent all his time and all the money he could command in collecting this library, having a special passion for investigating race problems, and in particular the problem of the Basque race and language. It has cost the compiler, a bibliographical expert, eighteen months merely to prepare this volume as an auctioneer's catalogue. Students as well as book collectors will find much to interest them in its columns.

Index to the Periodical Literature of the World. Covering the year 1893. London : Review of Reviews Office. 1894. 5s.

Miss Hetherington's *Index* has now established its reputation. In the present volume the pages devoted to the *Index* itself are nearly one-half as many more as in the previous edition. The handbook matter giving details as to publishers and editors of magazines has been rigorously condensed, and will probably have to be omitted altogether next year. This is to be regretted, but those who have the earlier volumes will be able to find such particulars there. We hope that if Mr. Stead cannot spare room for all details, he will see his way

to note changes in editors and in magazines. The importance of our monthlies is steadily growing. The *Strand* is said to have a circulation of nearly 400,000; the *Idler* comes next. *Woman at Home* is the only new magazine of 1893 that has gained a wide circulation. The *Index* supplies a welcome clue to the stores of periodical literature. It shows at a glance the articles published on every subject, so that a busy writer will be saved many a weary hour of fruitless searching for papers bearing on any given question. We are sorry to find that financially the *Index* entails a considerable monetary sacrifice, but in other respects both Mr. Stead and those who use the volume must regard Miss Hetherington's work with unmixed satisfaction.

Dictionnaire Générale de la Langue Française. Par MM. A. HATZFELD et A. DARMESTETER, avec le Concours de M. A. THOMAS. Paris : Librairie Ch. Delagrave.

We have received the thirteenth fascicule of this monumental work, the reputation of which has long been established on both sides of the Channel. The present number concludes the letter E and begins the letter F. Though the scope of the work professedly excludes the pre-Renaissance language, the etymology of every word, so far as ascertainable, is carefully marked. The various *nuances* of signification are clearly defined and illustrated by apt quotations. Some of the more important articles, *e.g.*, those on "*esprit*" and "*étude*," are extremely elaborate and full of interest for the student of development of literary usage. The work is excellently printed and is not too large for easy handling, a point in which it has the advantage of our own Murray's Dictionary.

The District Synod in Methodism : Its Development and Present Functions. An Address delivered at the Annual Synod of the Second London District by the Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D., Chairman of the Synod. London : C. H. Kelly. 1894.

To all Methodists who care to understand the principles and the constitutional growth and history of their own Church, and to all members of other Churches who desire to comprehend what the Methodist Society of John Wesley has now become, and by what steps and stages of development it has been transformed into the great and powerful Church which stands conspicuous in England to-day, inferior in range and influence only to the Established Church, this small pamphlet may be commended as affording more clear instruction on the subject in less compass than can be anywhere else obtained. The result of much study and research, and the experience of a long life, are here succinctly stated. It is published at the unanimous request of the Synod over which Dr. Rigg presides.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April 15.)—M. René Millet's "A Portrait of Ancient France after a Recent Book" discusses M. Hanotaux's *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. I. La Jeunesse de Richelieu—La France in 1614*. This first part, though only an instalment, is really a book within a book, for it takes up not less than 400 pages. Here is a complete picture of the physical, social, moral, and political state of France from its origin down to the States-General, in which Richelieu won his first victories. After dwelling on the need of specialisation if a writer wishes to do any really good work, M. Millet expresses his opinion that, in history as elsewhere, the first originality is that of the thought which ought to be the highest expression of good sense. The reading public are indebted to M. Hanotaux for having proved by his own work that in France, as elsewhere, a solid foundation of knowledge may be allied with broad general views, and picturesque detail with a clear understanding of the whole subject. French historians have been prejudiced in their historic judgments by the souvenir of the Revolution. Augustin Thierry, so realistic a painter of barbaric times, is less impartial when he approaches modern days. He represents a colossal Tiers-État, whose shadow spreads over the whole monarchy. Guizot puts the corpse of ancient France on the anatomist's marble table, and, veiling his face with care, marks on its body the play of the great social organs. Michelet, on the other hand, resuscitates or, at the least, galvanises it. He communicates to it the spark of his own fervid imagination. The France of olden times starts up before us, takes a few steps, then falls back into its lethargy. One might say that the spell of the enchanter vanished with the first rays of the sun. His sixteenth century is feeble; his seventeenth century does not exist. Taine's "Ancien Régime" is an admirable treatise upon the origin, progress, and ravages of the revolutionary malady; it is not the image of Old France. On the long struggle between the throne and the nobles, on the rôle of the Church, Taine not only contents himself with current notions, but even reasons *a priori*. As for royalty, which for so long a period was France itself, three lines suffice. His picture of "The Structure of Society" is a fresco, on which some loud strokes of colour have been dashed. M. Hanotaux is in a supreme degree a political historian, but in that respect he has profited by the lessons of Taine, Michelet, and Renan. His work is a remarkable attempt at reconciliation of the different schools. The sense of movement, picturesque and individual detail are combined with regard to public interests. Some happy phrases are quoted from the work, which will send many an eager reader to this great work.

(May 1.)—M. A. Moireau writes on "The Economic Movement." He says it would be difficult to close one's eyes to the growing importance of economic questions in the inner life of civilised nations, and in the relations between them and what remains of the barbaric world. The events which affect the well-being of one nation to-day act with an intensity formerly unknown on the interests of other countries, whatever be the material and moral distance between them. After dwelling on the progress of Economic Science, he points out that Thorold Rogers has been compelled to substitute for the speculative science called political economy a certain patient and learned art of interpreting the facts of history from the economic point of view, that is to say, in their relation with the condition of the material life of men and nations. Germany started on her imperial career by a monetary revolution—the demonetisation of silver. She has reformed her system of banks, realised the Utopia of the working of railways by the State. She has had to struggle against a deficit and has an imperial debt. Austro-Hungary, on the other hand, has restored the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. Russia, with the help of France, has redeemed her credit. She has deposited with France the deeds for a capital sum of more than £200,000,000, and she has

amassed an enormous quantity of gold, after the pattern of the Bank of France. The chief endeavour of the Ministers of the Czar is to assure the ready sale of the wheat and petroleum of the empire, and to maintain equilibrium in the Budget. Italy is going through a frightful political and financial crisis. All the fictions of past Budgets have vanished. Spain has had the Melilla incident, and the problem of the deficit put on one side for a dozen years still awaits solution. Greece has had excessive ambitions, and in Athens, as in Rome, financial questions are uppermost. His general survey leads M. Moireau to sum up that the whole world is anxiously dealing with economic problems. The details vary, but the groundwork is the same. It is the conflict between consumers who wish to buy the products of every country in the best market, and the consumers who claim protection against foreign production. The obscure and mysterious monetary problem adds to the difficulty. The depreciation of silver involves all civilised nations in the inevitable network of consequences caused by the rupture of the ancient equilibrium of value between the two precious metals. Since the customs tariff of 1892 the foreign commerce of France has continually declined. Partisans of Protection may try to explain this decline on other grounds, and may point out that England, the United States, Italy, and Spain have had to face the same condition of things. But they cannot contest the fact that French commerce, which had steadily grown from 1860 to 1891, then began to decline. The culture of the vine has suffered only less seriously than agriculture. The vintages of 1893 have yielded 50,000,000 of hectolitres, of which 15,000,000 are still in the cellars of the proprietors, unable to find a market at any price. For three months the whole of the south, with Burgundy and the Gironde, has been crying out about the bad sale of wine. It is really a strike of purchasers, an absence of orders, an abstention of consumers. The astonishment of the south at this phenomenon has been so profound that it has engendered indignation and almost led to rebellion. In some regions groups of residents have menaced the Government with a refusal of the taxes unless the state of non-sale was brought to an end. It seems impossible to reduce the national expenditure, but the course of events is quickly pushing France towards that tax on incomes which is stoutly opposed as inquisitorial, but which it seems as though the nation would be driven to accept.

(May 15).—M. Arvède Barine, under the title of "The Price of Glory," gives a pitiful sketch of the life of Madame Kovalevsky the famous Professor of Mathematics at the University of Stockholm, whose history forms a sad illustration of Madame de Staël's dictum, "Glory, for a woman, is only the splendid mourning of happiness." She was born at Moscow in 1850. Her father, General Kroukovsky, was of noble blood, being a descendant of Mathias Corvin, King of Hungary. The little girl hungered for love, but her parents kept their children at a distance. In 1856 the General left the army and became governor at Palibino. This was a place cut off from all the world. The governor and his family were buried in the depth of the forests, completely strangers to every contemporary movement. The events and passions of the rest of the world presented to them only the same kind of interest that one might feel about what was going on in the moon. The two girls, however, caught the enthusiasm for liberty, which then stirred young Russia so deeply. The parish priest had a son who refused a wife and a good living. He threw away his cassock and went to St. Petersburg to study science; from him the General's eldest daughter imbibed Nihilism. M. Kroukovsky went to spend the winter of 1867 in St. Petersburg. Here they were in the full tide of the new movement. To get away to a German university the younger girl made a fictitious marriage with the priest's son. It proved a disastrous union. Sophie Kovalevsky had a great yearning for love and proved a jealous mate, and the young people separated. After some years they made a fresh attempt to live together, but it proved unhappy. Kovalevsky lost his reason and died. His widow gradually built up for herself a great mathematical reputation. She won the Bordin prize at the French Academy of Sciences by a brilliant essay on mathematics, and was fêted and honoured

in Paris on every hand. But happiness would not come. A young Russian, whom she loved, wished to marry her, but he demanded that she should be "only his wife." She could not bring herself to make the sacrifice, but the loss of that love broke down her health and she died in 1891. In her last years she often said that she would gladly change places with the most ordinary woman who was surrounded by beings in whose affection she held the first place.

(June 1.)—M. le Vicomte Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's paper, "Apropos of a Religious Debate." He says that France is weary of the acrimonious discussions of religious questions. The middle and lower classes want a church which does credit to the parishes. France wants to be baptized, married, and buried by priests who have a proper and respectable position; it wants its children brought up by masters to whom it is accustomed, and whose teaching appears like a kind of moral gendarmerie, a guarantee indispensable for its boys and girls. "The mistake of French Governments," the viscount says, "has been to fancy that they had a mission to shape people's minds and direct them into some special course. Some have wished to play the rôle of Constantine, others that of Julian. But it is not the duty of a modern republic to legislate for the states of mind which a coming age may witness, but to deal with actual needs in the religious order as well as in the other branches of the public service." This modest programme may seem singularly realistic and contemptible to the enthusiasts. It is certain that one may get finer oratorical effects by promising to recreate the mind of the people, to re-establish the kingdom of God, or to emancipate human thought. But the nation runs too great risks in committing such a task to a Ministry that may be out of power to-morrow. No one knows what gospel they may impose, or what other may appear better to their successors.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (May 1.)—This is an excellent number. M. Hollard's report to the General Conference of French Pastors on the principal obstacles to the spread of Protestantism in France ought not to be overlooked, and there is a capital sketch of Pressensé by M. Roussel. A. Sabatier deals with the origin of the last Encyclical—"Providentissimus Deus." Some Catholic theologians had shown themselves disposed to imitate the bolder Protestant divines in their treatment of Biblical questions. The most active, pious, and intelligent of the younger clergy had taken courage from the recent attitude of the Papal See, and dreamed of great and glorious enterprises which should astonish their adversaries and conquer the world. This movement has been spreading, and for some years there has seemed to be a revival of scientific and philosophical studies in the Church of France. The spirit of Richard Simon had spread and won a host of disciples. M. d'Hulst wished to make the Catholic Institute of Paris a place for serious study. He succeeded in gathering round him a band of young and distinguished men whose name and authority made a great impression on the public. It is enough to mention the Abbé Duchesne, Member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. M. d'Hulst, happy to pose as modern and Christian, as the reconciler of science and orthodoxy, was the active patron of the new movement. The studies of Exegesis and Biblical criticism had profited by the greater freedom of the last few years. Far from forbidding the study of the Scriptures the Church encouraged their translation into the popular tongue and their wide distribution. Three-quarters of the Papal Encyclical are devoted to proving the necessity of studying the Bible and extolling its benefits. M. d'Hulst had entrusted the Chair of Biblical Study, in the Catholic Institute, to the Abbé Loisy, a young professor full of scientific directness, of talent and piety. His name might often be seen below articles of great value in the *Revue Critique*, the organ of the young French historical school. He set himself to study the Bible according to the rules of modern criticism. The Jesuits, who regard themselves as the custodians of the Church's orthodoxy, were at last aroused. They found means to move Leo XIII. who is absolutely a stranger to historic criticism and exegesis. Through their influence M. d'Hulst was summoned to Rome. On his return the Abbé Loisy was removed from his

Chair, so that before the Encyclical appeared in November 1893 expiation had been made and the house purified. Fifteen days after its publication M. d'Hulst called together the professors and made them sign, without reserve, their adhesion to the Papal doctrine of Scripture that it cannot contain error because God is its responsible author, and that its meaning can only be found in the Church and in communion with the tradition of the Holy Fathers.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 15).—Alessandro Romanelli continues his study of "Taxes and the Public Debt." He says that the excess of expenditure, the total or partial abandonment of some taxes, and the abuse of public credit, have compromised the work of financial recovery which was so gloriously brought to an end in the times which followed the perfected political unification. The evil effects of financial embarrassment have overtaken both public and private credit, and the economical condition of the country, but it seems that more serious troubles are in store. Signor Romanelli says that the President of the Council and his colleagues have shown themselves thoroughly alive to the decisive importance of the present crisis, and the Minister Sonnino has frankly described the condition of public accounts, and has drawn up a programme of remedies which, in its general tendencies, and even in many details, is worthy of the highest praise. The article is devoted to a careful consideration of some of the Government proposals. City proprietors have undoubtedly suffered most heavily during the past few years by the large decrease in house-rent, which has been brought about by the crisis, and the special condition of some great cities, where the fever of speculation has created a superabundance of dwellings, and where the great manufactories have been sorely handicapped.

(May 1.)—Tito Gualdi has a short but valuable paper on "The Eleventh International Medical Congress, and the Exposition of Medicine in Rome." It opened on the last day of March, and marked the highest point yet reached by the International Congress. Many important communications were received, and the various sections did their work in an admirable way. The exhibition was one of the principal ornaments as well as the necessary complement of the Medical Congress, and its arrangement left little to be desired. It is to be regretted, however, that the public did not take the interest in it which the foreign visitors did. But the fact is, as the writer points out, that the desire to know and see beautiful and instructive objects is not very strong, as the almost deserted artistic exhibitions of every kind bear witness.

(May 15.)—Signor Romanelli concludes his discussion of "Taxes and the Public Debt." He is compelled to make a long excursion into the general field of finance, in order to deal thoroughly with his subject. Some have thought that the financial situation of Italy is not so grave as the Minister Sonnino represented in his last exposition. He has estimated the difference between income and actual expenditure for 1894-5 at 177,000,000 lire, and has calculated that through obligations already incurred the public deficiency will increase gradually during the next five years to 212,000,000. It has been stated that this amount ought to be reduced by 79,000,000—75,000,000 for works, either almost completed, or in course of completion, and 4,000,000 which represent a State contribution to the three great railways—the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Sicilian. This, it is argued, ought to be considered as a particular kind of transformation of capital. But a study of the returns of railway construction in Italy shows that the State has lost eighteen and a half million lire in the last ten years. The loss has grown from a million in 1885-6 to four and a half million in 1892-3. A Special Commission has therefore reached the decision, after a careful study of the facts, that the Minister has in no way exaggerated the gravity of the crisis. The writer of this article comes to the conclusion that if all possible measures are taken—moral, intellectual, and economic—for the restoration of public credit, not by radical changes, but with gradual reforms maturely considered and cautiously applied, Italy will regain her high position of progress and distinction.

THE MONIST (April).—General Trumbull of Chicago contributes a paper on "The Parliament of Religions" which deserves attention. He says: "The 'Parliament of Religions' was the name of a drama played, not in a church, but in a palace of art, with pagan gods in marble watching the performance, and wondering what the lesson of it was. The Parliament was a genial transmutation of religious animosities into social friendships, but it was neither Pentecost nor Babel, although it had resemblances to both." Mr. Elder, a Roman Catholic from New Orleans, protested against the way his co-religionists had of eulogising themselves all round, and expressed his conviction that the great men—the orators, thinkers, leaders, scientists—of the United States are and will continue to be Protestants. The whole article brings out more clearly the vanity of this much vaunted assembly.

CANADIAN METHODIST REVIEW (March-April).—Mr. Phillips has a paper on "The Epworth League and Christian Endeavour Pledge." He says that anything that will produce a clear-cut, well-defined, really positive Christian life is desirable. This purpose is, he thinks, served by the associate members' pledge in the two societies. Such a pledge "gives a right tendency to moral character; it is a step towards decision for Christ; it gives opportunity for association with active Christians; it is an actual admission of and public commitment to Christianity; it is becoming responsible for the good reputation of the Church; it is assuming a personal interest in the society and its work; it is undertaking the performance of certain beneficial duties; and, finally, it is entering into a covenant with God."

THE CENTURY (April, May, June).—Florence Earle Coates has an interesting paper on "Matthew Arnold" in the April number. When in America he was greatly interested in the conversation of working men which he heard from time to time. He often repeated to Mrs. Coates sentences which he had caught, and asked her whether such intelligence was not uncommon among their working people. Upon her replying in the negative, he would say, "It is surprising; you would not meet with it in England." Those who knew Mr. Arnold best will strongly dissent from the views here expressed on his religious teaching, but we have been amused at the naïve confession of the irritation caused by his plain speaking on some American weaknesses. "When to our ears came the first intimation that in us also he had found things of which he did not wholly approve, we were filled with amazement, and a storm of indignation swept over the land." This is really very amusing. Wilburne Hall's "Capture of the Slave Ship *Cora*, the last Slaver taken by the United States," in the May number, should not be overlooked by those who wish to understand what the traffic in slaves meant. There were over seven hundred of these wretches on the *Cora*. Mr. Hall, who went on board the slaver with a prize crew, had the blacks brought on deck every day from dawn till sunset. Not a waist-cloth could be permitted, since clothing even so slight as that would breed disease. They were taken in squads of twenty, and given a salt water bath by the hose pipe. This brought renewed life after their fearful nights in the hold. "At sundown, when they were carried below, trained slaves received the poor wretches one by one, and, laying each creature on his side in the wings, packed the next against him, and the next, and the next, and so on, till, like so many spoons packed away, they fitted into each other, a living mass. Just as they were packed they must remain, for the pressure prevented any movement, or the turning of hand or foot, until the next morning, when, from their terrible night of horror, they were brought on deck once more, weak, and worn, and sick." Every night some of the poor creatures died, and had to be cast overboard. In the *Century* for June there are some "Field Notes" by John Burroughs which have the usual charm of all that comes from his pen. He describes a weasel which he saw carrying mice into his den, and the strenuous efforts he made to find out the little creature's home. After moving two or three times a ton or more of earth, he was apparently no nearer the weasel and his store of mice than when he began to dig. The further he excavated the more complex and baffling the problem became. The weasel seemed to have provided a back door at every turn, so that his fortress was like

a Mammoth Cave. The paragraphs on "Keen Perceptions" shows what alertness of mind and quickness to take a hint are necessary for success in observing Nature. "One's perceptive faculties must be like a trap lightly and delicately set; a touch must suffice to spring it. But how many people have I walked with whose perceptions were rusty and unpractised—nothing less than a bear would spring their trap. All the finer play of Nature, all the small deer they miss. The little dramas and tragedies that are being enacted by the wild creatures in the fields and woods are more or less veiled and withdrawn; and the actors all stop when a spectator appears upon the scene. One must be able to interpret the signs, to penetrate the scenes, to put this and that together."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June.)—"Trilby" is really a striking story. Mr. Du Maurier has certainly opened a new vein, and his pictures are as unique as the text. That any girl so pure minded as Trilby should live such a life as hers in Parisian studios seems to us simply impossible. Mr. Bigelow gives a very good sketch of the "Emperor William's Stud Farm and Hunting Forest" in the April number. Trakehnen has about a thousand horses. In 1848 the Prussian Crown made over these estates to the Government on condition that the king should each year be allowed to select thirty horses for his private use. Mr. Davis' article on "The City of Homes" introduces the reader to Philadelphia, which resembles London more than any other of the American cities. There is an absolute disregard for money in the Quaker city. The man who marries a rich girl there is usually regarded with suspicion. It is Philadelphia birth that confers a right to a place in the aristocracy of the city. Mr. Howells' papers, describing his first visit to New England, give some pleasing glimpses of Lowell and other celebrities. He says that at the first encounter with people Lowell was always "apt to have a certain frosty shyness, a smiling cold, as from the long, high-sunned winters of his Puritan race; he was not quite himself till he had made you aware of his quality; then no one could be sweeter, tenderer, warmer than he; then he made you free of his whole heart; but you must be his captive before he could do that."

ST. NICHOLAS (April, May, June.)—We have not seen a better popular paper on "Ancient Musical Instruments" than Mr. Conant's beautifully illustrated article in *St. Nicholas* for May. Mr. Hornaday's "Furbearers" introduces young readers to the sea-otter, common and striped skunk, American sable, ermine, ferret, mink and badger. The pictures are excellent. This is followed up in June by an article on "The Raccoon and his Friends." Mary Shear Roberts writes about Zótof, the Muscovite Court Fool and Dwarf, who enjoyed a great reputation for learning and goodness. He was appointed tutor to the young Czar, Peter the Great. This was no easy post, for the Prince did not like study. By means, however, of picture books specially written and coloured for the purpose, Zótof managed to teach Peter something of history and also how to sing. They became life-long friends, and the dwarf often held responsible positions under his royal master. Dwarfs abounded in Russia in those days, and were generally well-shaped, with graceful hands and feet. Zótof was extremely ugly; but he knew well how to entertain his royal master. Peter created him Count in a jovial after-dinner mood. The dwarf also had a salary of about two thousand dollars, and a fine house in St. Petersburg. In his old age he wished to retire to a monastery, but this the Czar forbade, and insisted on his marrying an old widow.

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